"THE DEVIL'S CONFERENCE!"

AND

"ARMUGHAN-I-HEJAZ"

BY

ALLAMA IQBAL

ENGLISH VERSION

BY

MOHAMMAD ASHRAF

INTRODUCTION BY

THE [illegible] ABDUL QADIR KT

BAR-AT-LAW

THUS CONFERRED SATAN

An interpretation of Iqbal's message ; with its many peculiar features, this work attempts at an interpretation of the message of the great Poet-Philosopher from a fresh realistic angle, containing an illuminating introduction as also a sufficiently annotated translation of Iqbal's most instructive Urdu poem, and carrying valuable Appendices and Indices. The book is a mine of information extending over a wide range of themes so essential for right appreciation of a superb and versatile genius like Iqbal.

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

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THE REVISED EDITION

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

HAVING experienced varied difficulties and suffered numerous hardships in the course of his stupendous undertaking, and having been overtaken by intense sorrow and deep distress, the present writer feels relieved in offering to the indulgent readers the augmented Edition of the book—the outcome of hard and long labours. It is refreshing to observe that the work has been thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged, many an improvement having been effected and many an addition made. Several fresh points of vital importance have been fairly dealt with in the relevant new Comments appearing as explanatory notes on the Translation ; while quite a number of the previous Comments have been basically amended and treated afresh at greater length. In the Introduction, too, a good many useful discourses have been added, and almost the entire matter has been recast and reshaped, with the various topics discussed therein extensively and properly marked with marginal headings. The reader will find that the revised Introduction deals, in a wider range, with the sources, both Eastern and Western, of the Poet-Philosopher Iqbāl's thought. Here the poet presents himself as a world-figure, the noble humanist, with a message for all mankind. Some of the more interesting of the additional features of the present work are the revised Index to the Translation and the General Index. All this, it must be said, has been accomplished under the inspiring impulse of the Spirit that sustains the human mind and soul, when these are depressed and overwhelmed by frustration. The writer is right glad to observe that this modest effort on his part has met with fair appreciation from cultured European gentlemen interested in Iqbāl.

One characteristic feature of the present enlarged Edition is

that the Comments appearing as footnotes under the Translation in the original Edition have been placed quite apart from the English Version, in a separate Section, "Explanatory Notes", after the blank-verse rendering of the poem. So, the Annotations on the vital points inherent in the original poem have been printed at the end of the Translation, and the order of the serial Nos. in the Comments has been maintained just according to that in the English renderings, for the readers' convenience in reference and comprehension. Thus, the technique now is wholly altered throughout ; and fuller explanatory notes, relative to the Translation, have been provided.

It may be noted that the Translation of the poem has been carefully rescrutinised in the light of further studies and researches in the field. Consequently, a critically revised and appreciably improved English Version is now offered to the readers, which they should find fairly to be more in consonance with the spirit of the original Urdū poem. The present Edition, thus considerably expanded, appears under a different title, *Thus Conferred Satan*, with the rendering of the poem itself greatly polished up and recaptioned "The Advisory Council of Satan."

Here, falling into a pensive emotional mood mingled with many an old recollection, I have to recall the sad demise of the late Shaikh Sir 'Abdul Qādir, who expired at Lāhore, on the 4th of February, 1950. His death came as a personal shock to the writer, who genuinely felt depressed by the gloomy thought that he had not been given to present the Shaikh Ṣāḥib with a copy of the book, in the published form. The illuminating contribution to this volume by the late Sir 'Abdul Qādir, who is assured of an enduring name in the contemporary critical literature, both Urdū and English, has come to form a permanent feature of this work.

I am most deeply grateful to Prof. Alessandro Bausani, Professor of Persian Language and Literature in the University

of Naples (Italy), formerly, of the University of Rome, who has so kindly contributed an Appreciation to this work—*Un Parere su Questo Libro* ("An Opinion on This Book"). A distinguished European Orientalist and the leading Italian authority on the great poet-philosopher, the late Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl, and eminent translator of Iqbāl's *Jāwed Nāmah* (*Il Poema Celeste*), Professor A. Bausani, in the course of his searching contribution, analyses some of the essential elements which went to form the poet's versatile genius and his dynamic personality, speaking eloquently of the significance of Iqbāl's work. Based on close intellectual and spiritual association with the late Doctor Iqbāl, having well imbibed the poet's spirit, Prof. Alessandro Bausani's Review elucidates the Pan-Islāmic spirit that permeates Iqbāl's works. The Italian scholar has liberally dwelt on some of the salient features of this undertaking, lucidly appraising its value in the appreciation of Iqbāl's message and his philosophy of Life. It goes without saying that this valuable Italian Review, containing as it does the views of a highly cultured European writer, would commend itself to the readers. A translation of the Review appears appropriately under 'Opinions and Reviews', just following the Indices, forming the last Section in the end.

It is a pleasant obligation to offer my sincere thanks to Professor Muḥammad Sa'eed Khān, M.A., sometime Vice-Principal, Islāmia College, Lyallpur (Punjāb-Pākistān), for the valuable assistance so kindly rendered by him in reading critically through the entire manuscript. Thanks to the pains thus taken by him in scrutinising the additional matter and assisting me in revising the Translation of the original poem, the Edition is now revised throughout and the whole set-up fairly improved. The English Version of the Urdū original proceeds along, accompanied by the corresponding explanations which, it is to be hoped, would be found quite exhaustive.

It is a pleasure to render ṭhanks to my capable friend, Mr.

Ziā' Ullāh Nāik, B.A., LL.B., Gujrāt (Punjāb-Pākistan), for his patient advice as to essential general improvements in the work. It is mainly due to his most helpful suggestions that I was able to surmount the difficulties of a technical nature that were encountered in the preparation of the revised and enlarged Edition. Mr. Nāik's keen personal interest in this literary venture and his constructive criticisms have inspired the writer and resuscitated his depressed spirits. He has also been kind enough to assist me in the final critical reading of the manuscript

Now, I should like to thank the publishers, who have consistently taken quite an active interest in the publication of this work, duly exercising their solicitous care in the printing and skilfully employing their technical acumen in providing an excellent garb to the book. I am also highly thankful to Mr. 'Abdul Ghafoor, M. Sc., for the trouble he took so readily in collaborating in the arduous task of proof-reading. He has shown a lively interest in this enterprise, and has kindly taken so much pains in assisting me in a careful checking of the final proofs.

It remains for me to express my cordial thanks to an appreciative friend, Mr. Khālid Mas'ūd, who has been good enough to evince a deep sympathetic interest in this arduous venture, and has fairly sustained the writer by his timely constructive suggestions towards the realization of the latter's cherished ambition.

It is now anticipated that the present Edition, with its additional features and material improvements, would become increasingly popular with the general readers, particularly with the admirers of Iqbāl, both in the East and the West. The writer hopes this work will commend itself to the greater approval of the literate public as well as of the interested academic people, both Oriental and Occidental.

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

Gujrāt (Punjāb-Pākistān),
March, 1974 (Ṣafar, 1394 H.).

PREFACE

PREFACE

My humble endeavours, contained in the Translation and Annotations of the highly instructive and immortal poem by the great poet-philosopher, the late 'Allāma Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, are conceived as a tribute to his memory, his imperishable work, his invaluable service to the cause of Islām and his selfless service to humanity in modern times. The caption I have preferred to give to the English Version of the original Urdū poem, entitled *Iblīs kī Majlis-i-Shū'rā*, is "The Devil's Conference." I am bringing out this Translation in the hope that educated Muslims as well as other cultured men of literary tastes will appreciate my effort to make the vital message of the 'Poet of Humanity' more widely accessible to the world—a message which is essentially one of peace, unity, hope, action, self-respect, self-reliance and self-sacrifice, things we need more than ever today.

Doctor Iqbāl's message, vital and inspiring as it is, springs from the deeps of human conscience, and as such will be a source of inspiration for generations to come. Passionate faith in Islām and artistic skill give a striking power to his verse—it goes to the heart. Whereas the Persian poetry of this 'Poet of the Universe' has received world-wide appreciation, his Urdū poetry has not, unfortunately, met the same treatment at the hands of his admirers. Iqbāl's Urdū poetry, like the Persian, has a universal value and is remarkable for the richness of the constructive element it possesses. And, like his Persian poetry, Iqbāl's Urdū poetry is characterized by its universality of appeal—now to the heart, now to the mind—the ultimate evocative power lying in his profound humanity.

While translating this poem, I have tried to render its meaning as literally as possible, taking care, however, not to do

so at the expense of the English language. The readers will see for themselves that the Translation thus presented to them is no mere transliteration. Whatever I had to say myself has been confined to the explanatory remarks, given as footnotes. It would seem that the annotated translation of a very important Urdū poem of the great poet as this would speak for itself and require no special justification.

In the Introduction I have tried to deal briefly with some of the essential features of Iqbāl's practical philosophy and with some of the salient aspects of his constructive poetry, and have discussed the significance of his inspiring message to the modern world of Islām and to humanity at large. However, the treatment of Iqbāl's noble philosophy is a vast theme, vast enough to fill many a bulky volume, and the Introduction has no pretension to attempting at any exhaustive criticism, but is rather offered as a stimulus to a further and more intensive study of the poet's thought.

I do not pretend to have done full justice to the task I undertook to accomplish ; but if my present endeavours go some way to inducing the Muslim public and the Muslim intelligentzia to undertake, in right earnest, a critical study of Iqbāl, the poet-philosopher of Islām and consequently to start a more intensive inquiry into the original spirit of *Islām*—without which a revival of Islām and a regeneration of the Muslims are impossible—I would consider my labours amply rewarded.

Before concluding this prefatory note, I have to acknowledge my debt of obligation to that well-known and highly cultured European convert to Islām, Alḥāj Muḥammad Asad (Leopold Weiss), author of *Islām at the Crossroads* and translator of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. I am greatly indebted to this profound scholar whom I have occasionally quoted, while elucidating some of the important points inherent in the original poem of the poet. Thanks are also due to the eminent writers and

talented authorities on the late Dr. Iqbāl, and are hereby duly tendered to the gentlemen. Their scholarly works on the poet have been of immense help to the present writer.

I do not find words to express adequately my deep sense of gratitude for the esteemed favour Shaikh Sir 'Abdul Qādir, Kt., Barrister-at-Law, Lāhore, sometime Indian delegate to the long defunct League of Nations, Geneva, and ex-Member, His Majesty's India Council, London, has kindly done me in consenting to write an illuminating Introduction to this work. A gifted writer and a most distinguished authority on the great poet-philosopher, Sir 'Abdul Qādir in his scholarly Introduction has done the students of Iqbāl's thought a great service in dealing with some of the important aspects of Iqbāl's poetry and the essential features of his philosophy, lucidly bringing out the significance of his vital message. This valuable contribution helps the reader obtain some real insight into the spirit of the illustrious Poet of the East.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Muḥammad Razī-ud-Dīn Ṣiddīqī, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., F.N.I., Vice-Chancellor and Director, Research Institute, 'Osmānia University, Ḥyderābād (Deccan), who kindly went through the manuscript and encouraged me in this arduous undertaking. Dr. Muḥammad Razī-ud-Dīn Ṣiddīqī has been kind to contribute an enlightening Foreword to this work, and coming as it does from a distinguished writer, with an established reputation, I may justly feel proud of the privilege. Himself an eminent and accomplished authority on Iqbāl, Dr. Muḥammad Razī-ud-Dīn's searching contribution throws light on the character of Doctor Iqbāl and brings home to the reader the significance of the message the poet-sage imparts to mankind. It gives the reader an intimate peep into the genius and personality of the poet-philosopher.

I am obliged to the publishers who have spared no pains to have the book printed as nicely and accurately as possible, and

have given it an excellent get up, having had due care for the decency of the portraits which go to add grace to the book. I am sorry the publication of this book has been rather delayed, which was due to certain peculiar difficulties and untoward, gruesome happenings.

I shall not conclude these lines without expressing deepfelt thanks to my friend, Mr. Sayed Zāhid 'Alī Ja'fary, for his sustained encouragement at a time when I experienced some difficulty in accomplishing this undertaking, and his helpful suggestions with regard to elucidation of certain intricacies in the work. Without his invaluable assistance and co-operation in the final reading of the manuscript, the publication of the book would have been greatly delayed.

MUḤAMMAD ASHRAF.

Gujrāt (Punjāb),
November, 1946 (Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 1365 H.).

UN PARERE SU QUESTO LIBRO

By

Prof. Alessandro Bausani
Professor of Persian Language & Literature,
University of Naples,
Naples (Italy).

UN PARERE SU QUESTO LIBRO

Ho letto con molto interesse l'opera di Malik Muḥammad Ashraf *Thus Conferred Satan.* Rimpiango anzi di non averla conosciuta prima della pubblicazione del mio saggio sul 'Satana' iqbāliano, che usci nel vol.xxx (1955), della rivista orientalistica italiana "Rivista degli Studi Orientali" (A. Bausani. Satana nell'opera filosofico-poetica di Muḥammad Iqbāl). Avrei infatti potuto utilizzare la chiara traduzione inglese del sig. Ashraf per un miglioramento della mia italiana del non sempre facile poemetto urdu.

Quel che piu interessa il lettore europeo dell'opero dell'Ashraf e naturalmente la sua introduzione. Essa mostra come lo spirito universalistico del grande maestro Iqbāl abbia dato i suoi frutti anche nel discepolo—se cosi posso chiamare l'Autore—il quale si sofferma a studiare le varie fonti del pensiero iqbāliano, non solo orientali, ma anche occidentali. Una prova di piu del fatto che il panislāmismo iqbāliano—nel suo apprezzamento profondo anche di cio che v'e di nobile e buono nello spirito europeo, supera l'angusto limite di una visione puramente "confessionale" tramutandosi, come ben mette in rilievo l'Ashraf, in un vero e proprio cosmopolitismo humanistico.

Penso che sia Musulmāni che Europei debbano esser grati all 'Ashraf per questa sua generosa fatica.

Rome, February 1957.

INTRODUCTION

By

The late Shaikh Sir 'Abdul Qādir, Kt.,
Bar-at-Law,
Lāhore (Pākistān).

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the most instructive Urdū poems of the late Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl has been successfully rendered into English by Malik Muḥammad Ashraf, under the title of "The Devil's Conference." Its Urdū name is *Iblīs kī Majlis-i-Shū'rā* (ابلیس کی مجلس شوریٰ). The word *Iblīs* is applied in the Qur'ān to the Arch-Devil. Another name used for him in Arabic is *Shaiṭān*, which is the same word as Satan. The poet describes the Arch-Devil as holding a Conference of his followers, who assemble to give an account of their victories and defeats in their effort to influence the minds of men, so as to turn them from the path of Virtue and to lead them towards Vice.

The story of the refusal of *Iblīs* to prostrate himself before Adam is common to the Bible and the Qur'ān, and has left a mark on the literature of many lands and nations. In the English language it has been immortalised by the genius of Milton in his "Paradise Lost." Iqbāl has based this beautiful little poem on the story in the Qur'ān.

The main difference between the poem of Milton and this poem is that "Paradise Lost" deals with the episode of the temptation of Eve by Satan and the Fall of Adam and Eve from Heaven, while Iqbāl's poem deals with the struggle between the forces of Good and Evil, which has continued since the beginning of the world and is bound to continue as long as the world lasts.

The able translator has made a deep study of the writings of Iqbāl and has absorbed a good deal of his thought. He has tried to convey the message of Iqbāl to the readers of his book, through the valuable notes which he has added to his Translation. In an Introduction written by himself he pays his own sincere

tribute of admiration of the great "Poet of the East." Though the translator is aware of the fact that the message of Iqbāl is for the whole world and particularly for the nations of the East, he refers to the poet again and again as the poet-philosopher of Islām. This is true inasmuch as Iqbāl is a poet as well as a philosopher, and his philosophy is based on the Qur'ān and couched in many places in the technical terms of the books of Islām. This does not, however, take away from the writings of our great poet their universality, which is their main distinguishing feature. Iqbāl is really a believer in the doctrine that man is superior to all other created beings. He is fond of bringing out this truth in one form or another. In the poem before us, this is the underlying theme and the poem ends on a note describing the apprehension in the mind of the Devil that there are those who may eventually defeat the Devil and his confederates by acting on the principles taught to mankind by the illustrious Prophet of Islām.

It is difficult to describe a versatile genius like Iqbāl by any one title, however comprehensive it may be, but of all the titles by which the lovers of his poetry have been calling him, I prefer to call him "the Poet of the East." There is no one among his predecessors, who has the burning love for the East which he had and the indifference bordering on contempt with which he regarded the material civilization of the West. He was not impressed by its outward glamour and its superficial attractions.

Among the admirers of Iqbāl there has often been a controversy whether he was essentially a poet or a philosopher. Some of them are inclined to the view that he was more of a thinker and philosopher than a poet and he chose verse as a convenient vehicle for his thougt. It is interesting to note that he was himself of this opinion to some extent. He declared on many occasions that he had not particularly studied the technique of poetry and the thought in his poems always claimed

more of his attention than the form of their expression. This declaration is correct so far as it goes, but it cannot take away the fact that nature had meant Iqbāl to be a great poet and that therefore poetry must be regarded as his real distinction. The easy flow of his verse, in Urdū as well as in Persian, the rhythm which is its peculiar beauty, and the choice words in which his thought finds expression bear ample testimony to his poetical genius. The philosophic vein, which runs through his poems, and the deep religious fervour, which characterizes the works of the maturer period of his life, are only additional charms of his Muse. He did not believe in the theory of "art for the sake of art," but was fond of using his art for serving humanity. He succeeded in firing the imagination of the youth of his time with lofty thoughts and noble ideals, through his powerful verse.

In this poem, which describes the schemes of the Arch-Devil and his agents to exploit the weaknesses of humanity, in order to achieve the nefarious object of keeping men and women away from the path of Virtue and leading them to sin, the Devil and his fraternity are shown as assembled to take stock of the success or failure of their activities and to form plans for future action.

In the opening address the Arch-Devil informs his adherents as to the machinations which have been employed by him to defeat the object of the Creator of the Universe in creating man and in placing him on a pedestal superior to that of the Angels of the Heaven.

The world is described in the first verse of the poem as "this ancient interplay of the elements." These significant words are a good illustration of a peculiar feature of the art of Iqbāl. His main object was to bring out through this poem the contrast between the materialistic view of the existence of this world with the spiritual view. The poet achieves this end by putting in the mouth of *Iblīs* words showing the Devil's contempt of this old organism and also of the belief that it came into

being at the bidding of its Creator. The Devil finds it more suitable for his purpose to have the other theory accepted, which holds that the world is a fortuitous concourse of blind atoms and has taken shape by an interplay of the elements. The religious theory that the world is a manifestation of God's Will, with its basic belief that the complexity of this machinery proves that it has a Maker, is thus rejected by the Leader at the Devil's Conference and dismissed as "the interplay of the elements." He refers sneeringly to the other theory of "Be and it comes into Being." Iqbāl, being a Muslim, adopts the phraseology of Islām, as to the words of this order of the Almighty. The belief is common to many religions and many revelations and particularly to Christianity and Islām, and is inculcated in the Bible and the Qur'ān. In the words of the latter the command was کن فیکون "*Kun-fa-yakūn.*" The first word of the command is composed of two letters, ک and ن (*kāf* and *nūn*), which occur at the end of the first stanza of the poem, pronouncing the command which set the machine of mundane life going. Satan scoffs at this idea and says that this world to which its Maker gave the epithet of the "*Kāf* and *Nūn* world," is now about to be destroyed by Him, as things have come to such a pass, through the machinations of the agents of the Devil, that there is a strong conflict between the people inhabiting this earth.

Iblīs goes on to relate, in the next stanza of the poem, the methods adopted by him to produce trouble and unrest, which are intended to lead to the ruin of mankind. It must be borne in mind that this poem was written after the last Great War and before the beginning of the World War of 1939. Iqbāl had predicted, many years before the Great War of 1914-18, that modern civilization would commit suicide. The actual words which he used may be translated thus : "Your civilization will kill itself with its own dagger." This proved literally true in the Great War, and has been again demonstrated even more forcibly in the War which has just come to an end.

The Arch-Devil mentions the following four devices used by him to bring about the desired result :

(1) Imperialism.
(2) Lack of Religion.
(3) Blind belief in Destiny among the poor.
(4) Capitalism.

The boast of the Devil is that it is impossible to extinguish the fire set ablaze by his designs.

The address of *Iblīs* is followed by a speech of his first Councillor, the gist of which is given in the next two stanzas. He lays stress on the device by which the fraternity of the Devil taught so much humility to the poor that they lost all sense of manliness. This idea is expressed by the poet in the significant line, which reads thus in translation : "Prayer devoid of the posture of standing erect is their nature's constant urge." In order to understand the full sense of this verse, the words *namāz* and *qayām* used in the original for the words "prayer" and "standing erect" are more helpful. While prayer is the word generally used for praises or requests addressed to God, the word *namāz*, in Muslim literature, applies to a number of postures and genuflexions which are parts of the prayer, in addition to the words recited in it. The *namāz* begins with the posture of *qayām*, which is "standing erect." The second stage is رکوع (*rukū'*), which is bending one's self double, followed by سجود (*sujūd*), which means laying one's forehead on the ground. This process repeated several times constitutes *namāz*. By characterizing the prayer of the poor as "a constant prostration," without any alternation of standing erect, Iqbāl wishes to draw attention to his favourite doctrine of "the dignity of man." He is emphasising the point that a prayer, which deprives man of that dignity by constant prostration and knows no *qayām*, or standing erect, is hardly a prayer, which is according to the true spirit of Islām.

The second Councillor intervenes with a remark on the doubtful utility of modern democracy. He calls it "a fresh mischief." The reply of the first Councillor is that he knows that it is a veiled form of Imperialism. The poet gives, through the mouth of the Councillor, an apt definition of Imperialism by observing that it is not essential for Imperialism to have an autocrat or a monarch as its head, but "a desire to rob another of the fruits of his labour" amounts to Imperialism.

The point raised by Councillor No. 2 is taken up by the third Councillor, who asserts that if the spirit of Imperialism is kept alive, the form of Government hardly matters. He adds, however, that from the Devil's point of view, the ideology introduced by Karl Marx, which places men on a footing of equality with one another, is an element of danger, because an adoption of his system would minimise the opportunities of friction between people and would lessen the chances of mischief.

The reference by the fourth Councillor to Mussolini, who was at the height of his power when the poem was written, shows that the Italian Dictator deviated from the path of Socialism which was at first followed by him and that he thus proved himself wanting in foresight, by adopting an unabashed policy of land-grabbing.

The fifth Councillor is more of a courtier than the preceding speakers and flatters his Chief by declaring that the world owes the charm of its life to the fiery zeal breathed into it by *Iblīs*. He says that the world would have been colourless and insipid without the strong and stubborn personality of the Arch-Devil.

The praise bestowed on *Iblīs* by one of his admiring followers incidentally illustrates a lurking admiration which Iqbāl, the philosopher, had for the strength shown by *Iblīs*, though it was not shown in a good cause. This is a tendency which is shared by our poet with the great English poet, Milton. He is inclined "to give the Devil his due" and recognises that the first

rebel in the kingdom of God sacrificed his all but clung, to his conviction that he, as "a heaven-born being," could not bow before another being made of the clay of the Earth.

The recognition by Iqbāl of the strength shown by Satan may sound in some ears as a heresy, but the philosophic view taken by Iqbāl appears to be that the Devil was needed as a touchstone for testing the good and the bad among men and women. In the eye of our poet-philosopher, the virtue of anyone who has not been put to a severe test is not worth much and only such men deserve credit who have successfully struggled against powerful temptations and have risen above them

The speech of the fifth Councillor, which praised the Arch-Devil for having "transformed the dead earth and water into a world of beauty and endeavour," ends in expressing the fear that the world is "going to turn topsyturvy" and that rivulets and mountains are trembling with the ghastly dread of tomorrow." These words contained a prophecy of what has actually happened in the War which has just terminated.

The poem ends with the closing remarks by the Arch-Devil, who feels so confident of the results of his efforts that he declares :-

> "With their own eyes shall the West and the East witness the Spectacle :
>
> When I but warm the blood of the nations of Europe."

The world has unfortunately had a bitter and sad experience of the results of this threat and its only hope lies in following the maxim, "Back to God." The Arch-Devil feels constrained to acknowledge that the principles of Islām have in them a menace, which may defeat the efforts of the Arch-Devil and his party. He asks his adherents to be on their guard against the principles for which Islām stands, in spite of the fact that most of its followers have gone astray from the straight path. He

goes on to say that this Community still retains "a spark of ambition hidden in its ashes." *Iblīs* admonishes his lieutenants to beware of the Law, "which guards the honour of women and tests the capacity of men and which preaches that the Earth belongs to God alone."

The moral which Iqbāl wishes to emphasise in the emphatic words of the concluding verses of this poem is that the future safety of mankind depends on its belief in the equality of all human beings, as preached by Islām, and not in the subdivisions of humanity through race, colour or clime.

I think Mr. Muḥammad Ashraf has rendered a service to all lovers of literature by rendering this poem into English and adding his own comments on it. In certain places the natural admiration of the learned commentator borders on enthusiasm, but his obvious sincerity makes it excusable. He has succeeded in conveying the spirit of the poem to the English-knowing public and deserves the gratitude of the admirers of Iqbāl, in India as well as beyond India, who do not know the language of the original poem. I am sure this book will find a very wide circle of appreciative readers.

FOREWORD

By

Dr. Muḥammad Razī-ud-Dīn Ṣiddīqī,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., F.N.I.,
Ex-Vice-Chancellor.,
University Islāmābād
Islāmābād (Pākistān).

FOREWORD

AFTER the death of Iqbāl, his countrymen felt that he was a national possesion whose value had not been realised during his lifetime. By way of atonement, young as well as old individuals in the community undertook the task of explaining and interpreting his poetical works. Articles and reviews on the work and life of Iqbāl flowed in a steady stream in different periodicals and newspapers. Besides, numerous books on Iqbāl have also seen the light of publication. In spite of all this, it is essential that the torch which Iqbāl had lighted and which he had kept burning during his lifetime by the white heat of his poetry should not be allowed to get extinguished and the plant watered by him with his life-blood should be nurtured in its growth. The breadth of his vision and outlook demands that a whole body of scholars should devote themselves to the propagation of his mission. This work has been done to some extent in the Urdu language, but in other languages it has yet to be undertaken and is one of the main causes why the world in general knows so little about his poetry and the ideals it enshrined.

Good books have appeared in English about Iqbāl's life and his poetry, but the task of presenting his main work before the English readers still awaits accomplishment. Professor Nicholson had published during Iqbāl's lifetime the English translation of *Asrār-i-Khudī* (Secrets of the Self), and he had in mind the idea of translating a few other Persian works of Iqbāl, but death gave him no respite. Sometime ago, I happened to see the translation of his two poems "Shikwa" and "Jawāb-e-Shikwa." Besides these works, however, I do not think any other English translation of his works has appeared. The people who do not

know Urdu and Persian are, I think, peculiarly unfortunate in having no access to the mind and spirit of a great thinker like Iqbāl.

A great many people too who are acquainted with Urdu and Persian can derive no full benefit from the works of Iqbāl, for want of full knowledge of the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth, Islāmic History, and modern and ancient Philosophy, classical literature and traditions as Iqbāl's works abound in allusions, metaphors and references to these subjects. There are very few thinkers of Iqbāl's calibre in other languages, and for a full understanding of his poetry it is essential that their allusions and references are clearly grasped. It has been my desire for a long time that someone should undertake this. I am glad that Mr. Malik Muḥammad Ashraf has now come forward with such a work.

Mr. Malik Ashraf's book under review possesses both these virtues—he has rendered Iqbāl's poetry in English and has also given exhaustive explanations, which will not only help the Westerners in understanding and appreciating Iqbāl but will also be useful for those people in the Eastern countries who are ignorant of their own history, traditions and literature. For realising the full import of this work it is necessary to deal with a few points which form the nucleus of Iqbāl's poetry.

When Iqbāl came of age and looked around him he found to his utter dismay and disappointment that the people of the East were stagnant and entirely devoid of the spirit of adventure. The restlessness of high endeavours which moved them in the days of yore had left them altogether and their life was static like picture and silence of death was all over the place. Iqbāl also realised that after Shaikh Saadī and Maulānā Rūmī, no one had ever endeavoured to awaken the people of the East from their torpor. He, therefore, resolved to undertake the work of awakening those sleepers from their long slumber.

Iqbāl made his poetry the vehicle of his new found ideal. He was deadly opposed to the idea of any art, whether it be poetry, music, painting or sculpture, which advocated the theory of 'Art for Art's sake.' He was disgusted with the conception which he called "Ajamiyyat' (a nickname given by the Arabs to all non-Arabs whom they regarded as dumb in comparison with their eloquence), and he carried on a ceaseless war against this theory and repeatedly warned his readers to beware of it.

He regarded poetry as part of the prophetic mission and likened a poem that conveyed no message to a tree which bore no fruit. He wanted poetry which could transform the existing values of life and not one which only sought harmony with them. Every sound of Iqbāl's voice issues from the depth of his heart charged with a revolutionary fervour. He does not seek to create beauty which imparts a momentary pleasure, but goes in quest of reality behind all apparent forms of beauty. He does not care for harmony of numbers but has a keen ear for the notes of real life. He believes that Persian poetry leads to sloth and luxury and ultimately to death. He, therefore, advises his readers to keep away from it, especially in these days when the Eastern people have fallen into stagnation. Iqbāl thinks that if the mind of a poet is enlightened by a Divine effulgence, his poetry will breathe through every word of it the spirit of life, if not, his poetry will be a message of eternal death. He says that it is good to have a keen sight, but if that keenness does not enable one to look into the underlying realities behind passing phenomena, it is worse than useless. The purpose of all art and science is to discover and feel the eternal pathos of life, but an art which creates momentary enjoyment is of little value. He claims that nations do not rise in the scales of life without the help of miracles and it is the function of art to

work miracles in raising a people from the depths of degradation.

There is no doubt that Iqbāl's poetry satisfies the standard proposed by him. The stupor, with which Eastern nations and specially the Indian Muslims were overpowered during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, was largely dispelled by Iqbāl's poetry. From the very outset his message was one of activity and such was the importance he assigned to it that he actually identified it with life. Thus, in replying to a question put by a German poet, Heinrich Heine, he says :

ساحل افتادہ گفت گرچہ بسے زیستم
ہیچ نہ معلوم شد آہ کہ من چیستم
موج ز خود رفتۂ تیز خرامید و گفت
ہستم اگر میروم ، گر نروم نیستم !

"Said the rugged Shore, 'Although I have lived long ;
Ah ! My ownself is yet in no way known to me.
Growing furious, the Wave surged rapidly and said :
'I exist if on and on I move ; if I don't, I am no more'."

With a call to activity, Iqbāl has laid special emphasis in his poetry on the discipline and preservation of Self. During his stay in Europe, Iqbāl made a deep study of Persian Philosophy and also compiled a thesis on this subject. In this connection he also studied medieval Persian literature and mysticism. He was convinced that the decline of the Eastern people was partly due to the teaching of Persian mysticism with its stress on Self-effacement. This philosophy imagines human existence to be unsubstantial and makes one pessimistic and holds up to one's admiration a life of inactive contemplation instead of a life of stirring activity. In these days of hard struggle Iqbāl believes that if the Muslims adopt this attitude to life and fail to realise their individual and collective worth,

they will be doomed for ever as anticipated by the Balkan Wars and the War in Tripoli. He puts his finger on the weak point of the East and at once realises that the main cause of this decline of the Muslims is forgetfulness of themselves and ignorance of their inherent potentialities. Under the influence of this feeling Iqbāl draws up a programme for teaching the lesson of progress to the peoples of the world by giving them a glimpse of this lost vision, and through this lesson he desires to make backward peoples of the world strong and powerful. Even after arriving in India he works for the fulfilment of the scheme and now and then, through his Urdu poems, he teaches respect for Self. A classic example of this effort is the famous poem. "The Candle and the Poet," which was written in 1911.

Later, he realises that these scattered poems and verses are inadequate for the accomplishment of his ideal. With a view to explain his own philosophy of the Self and his own conception of Life he felt that he should write a comprehensive book in an interesting way so that it may help the Muslims in framing their own line of action. Inevitably his choice fell on the Persian language, because, in the first place, the Persian language was purified and sweetened during a long period of evolution and had developed a peculiar fitness for the expression of philosophic thoughts, in the second place, Iqbāl wished to communicate his message to the whole Muslim world for which Persian was better suited than Urdu.

In the course of his studies in Persian Mysticism Iqbāl had delved deep into the famous "Mat͟hnavī" of Maulānā Rūmī and so great was the influence of the Maulānā on him that he actually came to consider himself his disciple. He also modelled his "Secrets of the Self" on the pattern of the famous "Mat͟hnavī."

In the twelfth century Maulānā Rūmī witnessed with his own eyes how the Muslims courted trouble through their devotion

to egotism and their consequent defeat and disgrace at the hands of the Tartars. He thought that the Muslims had already lost the good things of life and he feared that if they persisted in their pride and evil ways they stood in imminent danger of losing the other world too. He said that egotism was a passing phase and he, therefore, preached abstention from it.

In the twentieth century Iqbāl also witnesses the disruption and dissolution of the Muslim Kingdoms, but his diagnosis of the disease is entirely different from that of Maulānā Rūmī. He observes that the Muslims are not following the path of righteousness. They are overpowered by the outward glamour of modern civilization and they seem to suffer from a kind of inferiority complex. They are completely ignorant of their own capacities and the greatness of human nature. Therefore, Iqbāl teaches them how to preserve and train their individuality. This teaching is in fact an explanation and amplification of the famous Tradition of the Prophet of Islām (من عرف نفسہ فقد عرف ربہ), "He who learns to know himself, learns to know God." Iqbāl proceeds to develop a logical argument to show that if a man realises his true position in the hierarchy of existence and disciplines his personality, he attains the Love of God and becomes His Vicegerent on Earth. He endeavours to show that outward form in which human existence clothes itself is nothing but a symbol of the real Self hidden underneath. The source of life, according to him, is the individual Self. The preservation of life similarly depends on the pursuit of creative ideals. Life is a ceaseless quest. The Love of God and His Prophet strengthens the Self, but if it looks to anyone other than God for assistance for the fulfilment of its needs, it becomes imbecile. The continuity of individual life rests on Self-strength. When the Love of God strengthens the Self, man easily conquers all the known and unknown forces of Nature.

The philosophy of Self-effacement is an invention of the

subject nations. They want to weaken their conquerors to secure freedom from their domination. With this end in view, they preach Self-effacement. This theory was first propounded by Plato and ever since it has exercised great influence on the minds of the Muslim Ṣūfies. Iqbāl, however, preaches to the Muslims to beware of this pernicious theory and by stating the truth about poetry, he wishes to reform Islāmic Literature, reclaim art from the clutches of the Greeks and restore them to Life and Self.

Iqbāl has indicated that there are three stages in Self-discipline. The first stage is that of obedience, because, from the Islāmic view-point, real freedom consists in obedience, that is, in a life of dutifulness. Therefore, he exhorts the Muslims to accept the restrictions of the Islāmic "Shari'at" and not to complain against their apparent severity.

شکوہ سنج سختیٔ آئین مشو
از حدود مصطفیٰ بیرون مرو

"Do not complain of the severity of the Law :
Do not transgress the statutes of Mustafā."

The second stage in Self-discipline comes when the individual exercises control over himself, as he who cannot control himself must, of necessity, fall under the control of another.

ہر کہ بر خود نیست فرمانش روان
می شود فرمان پذیر از دیگران

"He who does not command his ownself.
He has to submit to the command of others."

When a man has thus attained these two stages of Self-discipline, he reaches the third stage where he is entitled to act as the Vicegerent of God, and this is the end of all life.

This was the beginning of the education of Self, which Iqbāl reiterated for well over a quarter of a century with all the

artistic skill at his command, and this is the quintessence of his message. He is so strongly convinced of the need of Self-preservation that denial of it in his eyes is tantamount to a denial of God. In his opinion, all the miseries of the world are on account of the death of Self. The minds of the Western people are un-illumined by spiritual value and the sufferings of Eastern countries are also traceable to the same cause. Iqbāl loves his Self to such a degree that he thinks it would be a bad bargain, indeed, if he were to receive the Vision of God at the cost of his Self. He believes that the changes of day and night and the revolutions of history are intended to reveal the value of Self to man.

If we keep in mind the importance Iqbāl attaches to the Self, we can easily understand why he was so interested in the person of Satan. From his earlier work, like "Piyām-i-Mashriq," down to his last work, "Armughān-e-Ḥijāz," we find independent poems and scattered lines on Satan which reveal the different aspects of his personality. The English poet, Milton, has also dealt with the personality of Satan in his famous poem, *Paradise Lost*. In this poem, Milton relates the story of the Fall of Man and of Angels, but unconsciously he has confused the conceptions of God and Satan in the first part of the book. Milton's God is a tyrant, hard-hearted autocrat, who has no confidence in his own powers. On the other hand, Milton, endows his Satan with many fine qualities with the result that the reader begins to have a feeling that Satan is really the hero of his book. Milton himself realised this omission, but since he had no mind to revise or re-write this part, he made amends for it by changing the entire tone of the latter part of his book.

Iqbāl does not commit the mistake of exalting Satan above God. On the contrary, he establishes the superiority of the true worshippers of God over Satan. But he has, no doubt,

made the personality of Satan more interesting than that of the other angels, Gabriel, the Archangel, included, on the ground that he tried to preserve his self from outside encroachment by refusing to prostrate before Adam. In his book, "The Message of the East," he has developed this theme in a very interesting way. Satan says to God, "I am not a foolish angel to prostrate myself before Adam, who has been created from clay while I am created from fire. O God ! though the whole Universe is created by Thee, yet all the activity and bustle of life therein is entirely due to me. Thou giveth life to the body, but it is I who give it movement ; Thou guidest man towards a state of rest. I lead him to restlessness. It matters little that man was first created by Thee, as soon as he grows up, however, he becomes my disciple."

In one of the poems of his book "Bāl-e-Jibrīl," Iqbāl has brought out the inward thoughts of Satan and his effort to preserve his identity in a dialogue which takes place between Satan and the Angel Gabriel. Gabriel says, "Oh friend that has long been parted from us, the heavens still echo with conversations of the angels about thee. Is it not possible for thee to return and join the company of angels as before ?" Satan answers, "Oh Gabriel ! thou dost not know this secret. It was only after my fall that my personality developed to a full stature. It is impossible for me to return to heavens which are filled with the stillness of death. I long for a life of restless creativity. of endless quest and pathos." In reply, Gabriel sarcastically remarks, "Thou lost not only thy position by disobeying the commands of God but also brought disgrace to all the angels." Satan's brilliant rejoinder to this taunt is characteristic :

دیکھتا ہے تو فقط ساحل سے رزم خیر و شر
کون طوفاں کے طمانچے کھا رہا ہے؟ میں کہ تو؟

گر کبھی خلوت میسر ہو تو پوچھ اللہ سے
قصۂ آدم کو رنگیں کر گیا کس کا لہو ؟
میں کھٹکتا ہوں دل یزداں میں کانٹے کی طرح
تو فقط اللہ ہو ، اللہ ہو ، اللہ ہو !

"You stand on the shore, passively witnessing the struggle between Good and Evil ;
While I stand in the midst of the raging tempest, buffetted by winds and waves.
If you ever have a solitary hour with God, ask Him :
'Whose blood was it that gave colour to the story of Adam ?'
I prick the Divine Heart like a thorn ;
You do nothing except sing His praises."

Another important theme of Iqbāl's poetry is the comparison between reason and love. Iqbāl says that though reason is no doubt essential for man, yet it is equally essential that it should be subordinated to finer sentiments such as Love. By concentrating all their efforts on intellectual pursuits to the neglect of emotion, human beings in general and the people of the West in particular have committed a serious blunder. The remedy for the destruction of modern civilization is to co-ordinate the activities of head and heart. Love saves Intellect from straying. Reason is mere jugglery, which causes complications in human affairs. To set aside love and to become the slave of reason is to follow the lead of Satan and imitate his example. This theme has been developed by Iqbāl in a supposed conversation between Maulānā Rūmī and the German poet, Goethe. Maulānā Rūmī and Goethe happen to meet each other in Paradise. The Maulānā extols Goethe's excellent work, *Faust*, saying that he has no doubt related in a very interesting manner the story of the contract Satan enters into

with the Doctor and its consequences, but it is axiomatic that a person, who is virtuous and is gifted with intuition, knows for a fact that reason and cunning are ingrained in Satan, but man can triumph over reason and other Satanic forces by means of Love. Maulānā Rūmī's actual words are :

داند آں کو نیکبخت و محرم است
زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است

> "He who is blessed and familiar with spiritual mysteries knows well :
> That Intellect originates in Satan and Love springs from Adam."

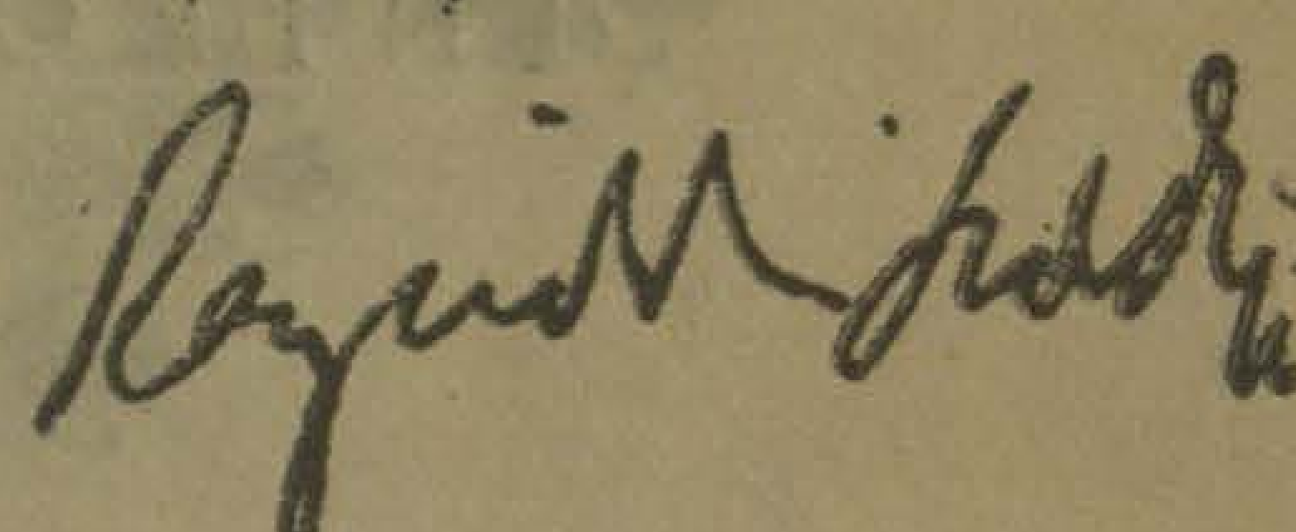
This is another aspect of Satan's personality which Iqbāl has illustrated and which shows that Satan is the embodiment of reason while man is the embodiment of Love.

Yet another aspect of Satan's personality has been stressed by Iqbāl in his poem "The Advisory Council of Satan," whose translation is being presented to the readers by Mr. Malik Ashraf. The eternal conflict between Good and Evil is the recurring theme of metaphysics, and Iqbāl has dealt with it in many of his poems. But in this poem Iqbāl has given it a dramatic turn and has commented on the present state of the world. The central idea of the poem is this: how far have the Satanic powers succeeding in misleading humanity and how far are those powers afraid of the modern political movements, specially Marxian Communism, and the Islāmic concept of Life ? This council of action meets under the presidentship of Satan, and formulates its programme for future action after carefully reviewing the present situation. The success of this Council of Action depends on creating more and more disturbances in the world and on eradicating all powers of Virtue. Satan has succeeded in this to a great extent, for the Muslims, who could

put up an effective fight against the forces of Satan, have set aside the Islāmic Law of Life, thus following the Satanic programme instead of opposing it tooth and nail. Some of the members of the Council scent danger in the economic and social structure of Marxian Communism lest it should lead humanity towards peace and prosperity. Satan consoles his disciples, saying that they need not fear Communism because it is, after all, the same old wine poured in new bottles. Communism cannot neutralise Satanic endeavours. It is the Islāmic *Sharī'at* which constitutes the chief danger. Therefore, Satan admonishes them to practise all guile to prevent the return of the Muslims to the fold of the Islāmic *Sharī'at*. In this poem, Iqbāl has adopted a very effective method of awakening the Muslims. Its importance consists in the fact that it draws the attention of the Muslims to certain matters they should bear in mind. It is evident that there is no greater enemy of man than Satan, and if Satan gloats on our actions then it should be our business, at the earliest opportunity, to feel sincerely repentent for them. I think that this small poem has a deep meaning for the entire humanity and specially for the Muslim.

It is creditable indeed that Mr. Malik Muḥammad Ashraf has rendered this poem in English. What is more creditable is that he has explained the difficult passages in the poem. It is not easy to translate a poem specially where it is highly philosophical and of great depth. The readers will see for themselves that Mr. Ashraf has been successful in recapturing the spirit of the original and this shows the command he has on both Urdu and English. His marginal notes are an evidence of the pains he has taken in the study of Iqbāl and the extensive researches he has carried on in the field. They also speak for the breadth of his outlook. Mr. Ashraf's review of Iqbāl's poetical works bears testimony to the extent of his studies. It is, however,

surprising that he has made no reference to Iqbāl's famous work "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām," a book which throws light on Iqbāl's philosophy and his conception of the Islāmic *Shāī‘at*. Again, Mr. Ashraf has confined himself to Iqbāl's poetical works alone, although Iqbāl has left behind him a good deal of prose, which is by no means negligible. I specially recommend those who are not acquainted with Urdu and Persian to read Iqbāl's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, and also his letters to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Ashraf would do well to attempt a translation of other important poems of Iqbāl, for which he is ably qualified. He will, in this way, be able to render signal service by thus propagating the Islāmic teachings through Iqbāl's poetry.



INTRODUCTION

WRITER'S INTRODUCTION

WITH 'smiling countenance' and with the word "Allāh !" on
The Man his lips, 'Allāma Shaikh Muḥammad Iqbāl passed away peacefully, and was laid to rest close by the portal of *Bādshāhī Masjid*, the historic Mosque of Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr, last great Mughal Emperor of India. Iqbāl was born at Siālkot (Punjāb-Pākistān) on the 9th of November, 1877, and died at Lāhore on the 21st of April, 1938, at the age of 61.

Iqbāl's fame in the Orient and the Occident hails him as the greatest Poet-Philosopher of Islām, who imparted a noble and inspiring message to humanity. As a token of devotion, foreign countries paid their homage to this great philosopher in the form of unique presents offered for dignifying his last resting place. Afghānistān's high esteem for the poet found its expression in her presenting of white marble slabs, skifully engraved by her master craftsmen, to serve as *ta'wīz* (centrally elevated graveslabs) for the mausoleum. Irān paid her tribute to the great reformer by offering an embroidered velvet covering, elaborately finished by expert Persian hands for the poet's tomb.

As a distinguished poet and philosopher, Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl is assured of a high place in Muslim literature and thought. An original philosopher, a very great poet and a formost international thinker, Iqbāl ranks with the greatest philosophers, poets and thinkers of the world. The East was torn and disunited, being seized by general intellectual stupor, and its soul was bleeding for the spiritual impoverishment and the political woes it had long been suffering on account of the suppression of its spirit of self-expression. Fate had humbled the pride the East once took in the creation of a universal religious culture which so beautifully embraced the spiritual

and material aspects of human life, and to which modern Western civilization owes so much for its 'remarkable achievements.' Iqbāl's birth at such a catastrophic period in the history of the East was a great blessing to the Eastern nations from a merciful Providence.

The present awakening in the Eastern peoples is, to a considerable extent, due to the inspiration and stimulus vouchsafed to them through the vital message inherent in Iqbāl's life-giving teachings. It is only after centuries that thinkers, teachers, reformers, and men of versatile genius like the poet-sage are born in this world. No wonder the Millat should have so keenly felt and mourned the irreparable loss caused to the modern world of Islām by the passing of the greatest thinker of the present age.

Several valuable books on Iqbāl's life and his work by writers of outstanding ability, who have made a thorough study of Iqbāl, have appeared in Urdu as well as in English. Obviously, all those works make no pretensions to an exhaustive treatment of the various aspects of the poet's philosophy and the philosopher's poetry. Research scholars' interpretations of the ideas contained in Iqbāl's poetry have yielded new meanings and new beauties and found in it inexhaustible treasures of practical, ripe wisdom. Possibly many others in future, wielding more powerful pens, will provide a fuller criticism of his philosophy and poetry.

It is not possible for us, within the limited space of this Introduction, to undertake an exhaustive discussion of Iqbāl's theory of the Ego, which in reality forms the basis of his system of philosophy and his whole thought-structure, nor can we attempt here a thorough analysis of the poet's affinities with Eastern and Western thought. We shall confine ourself to a brief general appreciation of Iqbāl's poetry and a faithful exposition of his philosophy, with particular reference to the

sources and fountains both Eastern and Western, of his inspiration and thinking, discussing the significance of his veritable message to the world in general and the Muslim world in particular, and finally elucidating the theme of the poem, annotated English Translation of which is offered, hereinafter to the educated public.

There are certainly other persons more competent, by virtue of their erudition and intimate study of Iqbāl, to bring out lucidly the salient features of his philosophy ; for their views and works the present writer entertains the highest respect. It would, therefore, be rather pedantic and presumptuous on the part of this writer to present himself as an erudite scholar or an accomplished exponent of Iqbāl's thought and his poetry. The writer's standpoint is that of a student of contemporary literature and thought, and he approaches the subject in the spirit and with the devotion of an earnest seeker after truth.

Learned scholars and keen students of Iqbāl find in his works how truly the great thinker represents the spirit of his age. Because of the amazing richness of his nature and the fertility of his mind, the versatility of his genius and the profoundness of his heart, so rarely given to an individual man, Iqbāl stands on the summit of a mountain by himself, with human life, both in its individual and collective perspectives, and the Universe laid bare before his penetrating and realistic vision as a charming landscape, which now and then unfold their mysteries to his searching intellect and elevated soul, gradually turning into a beautiful panorama holding out prospects of limitless possibilities.

To doubt, question, reject, destroy, construct, and to reconstruct was Iqbāl's noble mission. Iqbāl appreciated the views of the great men of his age ; he also disagreed with them and advanced his own views and theories, practicable and conceived

to modify and improve upon those put forward by his contemporaries and his forerunners in the domain of human thought. The late Professor Reynold A. Nicholson, of the University of Cambridge, in the admirable Introduction to his English Translation of *Asrār-i-Khudī* (The Secrets of the Self), Iqbāl's first philosophical Persian poem, has rightly made a significant remark that "It has been said of him that 'he is a man of his age and a man in advance of his age; he is also a man in disagreement with his age.' "

Iqbāl by his great work did much for the revival of Islāmic religious and social thought, and gave the Muslims of this age a sense of self-respect and showed them the way to their regeneration. Iqbāl's message implies a manly protest voiced against the prevailing godless ugly scheme of things—a scheme inspired by the sinister influence of the Evil One's staunch disciples. That message contemplates a revolt against the existing unjust World Order, promising well its ultimate supersession by the ideal just World Order at the hands of a few inspired, deep-hearted men of God.

An intelligent student of Iqbāl cannot pretend that the practical teachings, inherent in the vital and inspiring message of the poet-philosopher which derives its highest inspirations from the eternal and universal teachings of Islām, could ever be exhausted in all their depth. The greatness of Iqbāl's thought, which he shares with other really great thinkers of the world, consists in the fact that the more our knowledge of worldly and religious problems is widened and the more our experience of life and things deepens, the more we perceive new and hitherto hidden meanings in his writings, verse as well as prose.

A man in advance of his age, the full significance of Iqbāl's constructive message to mankind would only dawn on the modern world after time has rolled on into decades—perhaps, even into

centuries. Scholars engaged in the intensive study of Iqbāl are men devoted to the search after truth and are but travellers aiming at new discoveries in the domain of the spirit—discoveries of new meanings, new beauties in the inspiring message of Iqbāl.

Iqbāl, to tell the truth, as one said so aptly and rightly, came amongst us as a Messiah and stirred the dead with life. I may quote here a striking passage from *Yādgār-i-Iqbāl*—an admirable, illuminating sketch—by the well-known Indian historian, the late Maulvī 'Abdur Razzāq, of *Al-Barāmekah* fame (History of the Barmekides):

"Just as ancient India produced such eminent poet-dramatists and poets as Kālīdāsa and Amīr Khusrau and the pre-Islāmic Arabia could boast of poets of the standing of Imra'ul Qais and A'ashā (*Sannājat-ul-'Arab, i.e.*, the Cymbal of Arabia) and the Islāmic Arabia had distinguished sweet-tongued poets like Ḥassān, Farzdaq and Jarīr, so Iqbāl in the present age was a priceless gift vouchsafed to India by Providence. Whatever place the famous diamond *Koh-i-Noor* (the Mount of Light) occupies in the minerals of India, Iqbāl is assured of the same high place in the realm of poetry, both being matchless and unique of their kinds. Alas ! the favour was taken away from us before its time. After some time, another Iqbāl may see the light of the day in India ; but when he is to appear on the scene of life none could know and none could predict. and it must take long before he attains to the height of artistic glory and the pangs of a long period of anxious expectancy must be suffered in order to experience the delights of his spring. Iqbāl was unique : he stood alone in the galaxy of luminaries—artists, poets and thinkers. A versatile genius, he had accomplishments and attainments of his own, unshared by the celebrities of the world. One might well sing the following beautiful verse as if sung by Iqbāl himself :

بعد از وفات تربت ما در زمین مجو
در سینہ ہائے مردم عارف مزار ماست*

"After death, seek not in vain our graves on the earth ;
For we lie enshrined in the breasts of the gnostics.' "

Allāma Iqbāl's imperishable poetry derives its highest inspirations from the practical teachings of Islām and thus, while profoundly pan-Islāmic in *motif*, has a universal appeal. His constructive and practical philosophy has still to make its contribution to the solution of several intricate problems—political, social, economic, ethical, philosophical, and educational and ethical—facing the modern world of materialism.

The strength and greatness of Iqbāl's genius has long been recognised by the world, and the observance of 'Iqbāl Day' in the poet's honour has brought eloquent tributes to his memory and work from men of learning of all shades of thought and creeds. The poet was made known to the Western world thorugh translations of some of his Persian works by eminent European Orientalists, and this has brought him world-wide recognition.

The Eastern peoples are deeply indebted to Iqbāl, who preached a philosophy of action and struggle, for reviving their hopes for political prestige and stimulating in them an ambition for asserting their right to a life of their own. His works rank amongst the most notable and invaluable contributions ever made to the reconstruction of the Muslim religious thought and the revival of Islām. They furnish a stimulus for reviving the pristine glory of Islāmic culture and social order and awaken sentiments of revolution and kindle a spirit of revolt against the existing indecent and unjust World Order in which the weaker peoples

*Quoted from the Diwan-i-Kabir of Maulana Rumi.

are never safe from stronger nations' wanton aggression, inhuman subjugation, unscrupulous exploitation and ruthless domination.

The poet propounds the importance and utility of certain noble ethical principles and demonstrates the necessity of their cultivation as valuable traits in a perfect man's character and as essential components of his individual personality. Such traits are self-discipline, self-confidence, self-respect, a profound genuine religious sense, and the development of a strong progressing human Ego, embracing individual and collective life-activity, and a resolute will for asserting peoples' right to self-determination.

In these days of religious indifference, it was Iqbāl who so vigorously voiced the universal and eternal spiritual Message of Islām and impressed upon people the necessity and advisability of surrendering themselves to its unfailing true guidance. He sang the pristine glory and purity of Islām and he spoke of the Muslims' glorious cultural past. He wanted, through his inspiring message, to make Islām a *reality* in the lives of the Muslims. All his interests were centred round the problem of Islāmic regeneration and all his energies directed to the possible revival of Islām and the resurrection of the Muslim religious thought. That messenger of Islāmic renaissance sincerely wished and faithfully worked for the reconstruction of the great spiritual civilization of Islām and its magnificent culture, and was deeply anxious to see the tottering structure of Islām triumphant on earth and to find it work as the mightiest living world-force and the greatest driving and deciding factor in the destinies of mankind.

That, nowadays, we may witness some encouraging indications of the beginning of a reviving of the modern Muslims' contact with Islām is fairly attributable to the untiring efforts of 'Allāma Iqbāl, who supplied a genuine religious orientation of thought and furnished an eloquent religious explanation of life, by his wise precept and noble personal example.

THE PHILOSOPHER

A most gifted interpreter of the Divine Message of Islām for mankind in modern times, Iqbāl is a great humanist and a cosmopolite. With wide cultural and deep human sympathies, this Philosopher of Life (*Hakīm-e-Hayāt*) represents a superb conception of humanity inspired by his comparative study of Islām, its philosophy, literature, culture, polity, history and traditions, and of world history, literature and thought. Iqbāl, the Interpreter of Reality (*Tarjumān-e-Haqīqat*), wrote with fluency and distinction. His earlier poems reveal a spirit of revolt, expressive of the discontent which settled on the Muslim world following the overthrow of Mughal rule in India The poet had little sympathy for the materialism of modern West. He made no secret of his dislike for it and was always deeply critical of the ugly features of the civilization and socio-political organization of the West.

Iqbāl subjects to severe criticism the constituents of the cultural structre of the West and its sociological concepts. In intellectual development and scientific advancement, modern Europe has far surpassed ancient India and Greece, which made notable advances in science, philosophy and art. The West excels the East in material power and technical skill. A sense of elation pervades the West today. The present disturbance of equilibrium in Western society is largely due to the unsagacious division of the natural functions of the sexes. Consequently,

birth control, much in favour with the modern European woman, and unemployment of man, effected by the dawn of mechanical era, are taken to be some of the supreme achievements of Western civilization. In sarcastic strain, the poet-sage puts a pertinent question to the European philosopher :

1 کوئی پوچھے حکیم یورپ سے
ہند و یوناں ہیں جس کے حلقہ بگوش

2 کیا یہی ہے معاشرت کا کمال ؟
مرد بیکار و زن تہی آغوش !

"One might well ask of the philosopher of Europe ;
To whose genius owe allegiance India and Greece ;
'Is this the pefection of society ?
Man is disabled and woman deprived of child !' "

The stern reproofs levied against European civilization in Iqbāl's writings are evidently prompted by the fact that the West having developed a sorry indifference, nay aversion, to the urge of the spirit, 'crucifies the spirit of Christ every day' *which Spirit should rather have been made to serve as the animating force behind Western culture.

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1 & 2. *Zarb-i-Kalim* (The Stroke of Moses' Rod).

* The expression quoted constitutes the substance of a fine allegory embodied in the poem "Tolstoy the Philosopher's Vision, "contained in the Section of the *Jawed Namah*, bearing the title of *Falak-e-Qamar* (The Lunar Heaven). In that far off, higher heavenly sphere, the noble spirit of Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), great Russian philosopher and reformer of Czarist times, is made by Iqbal, while moving on in his allegorical journeys through the heavens, to criticise bitterly the exclusively materialist outlook and secular system of the West, sternly pointing to the horrors inherent in the atheistic material civilization of modern Europe.

In his works, Iqbāl deplores the materialism of Europe and voices the spiritual message of the East and expounds the sublime teachings of Islām to the modern world. Holding up his mirror to Europe's face, he severely warns humanity of the dangers of modern Western science and alerts mankind to the magnitude of the evils of Western materialistic philosophy. Yet, one need not deny or make it a point of contention that, despite his keen aversion to Western thought and ways of life, the great Oriental thinker, both in idea and expression, received inspiration from the West.

There is nothing in this for which one need apologize, for the religion professed and so intelligently presented by Iqbāl is itself a synthesis of all religions, and by following the well-known Traditions of the Holy Prophet, enjoining acquisition of wisdom and knowledge* by the Muslims as their lost belonging, wherever and from whatever source they might find them, Iqbāl borrowrd ideas from others, improved upon them, developed them and made them his own. Thus, appropriating to himself all that was best in the ideas of others and further himself contributing to these both critically and creatively he was supremely able to visualise a just and decent World Order for humanity.

APPROACH TO KNOWLEDGE

It was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Islāmic teaching that by submitting himself to an important and definite religious injunction, Iqbāl, as an earnest seeker after truth, was ever willing to seek and

*This refers to the famous Traditions of the Holy Prophet: "Seek knowledge, be it in China" and "Wisdom is the lost possession of a Faithful; wherever he finds it, he must pick it up."

derive knowledge from all sources. The fact that the Holy Prophet, sustained by Divine guidance, was told to pray constantly for increase in knowledge could not have escaped the notice of Iqbāl who was endowed with a creative genius and critical insight :

و قل رب زدنی علماO*

"But say, 'O my Lord ! Advance me in knowledge.' "

This aspect of the Islāmic teachings, that is, the stress on the quest of knowledge and its acquisition, enjoined as a sacred duty £upon every Muslim, has been dwelt upon by Iqbāl and held up as an ideal for man in his own lucid manner, in a beautiful verse :

3 گرچه عین ذات را بے پرده دید
رب زدنی ، از زبان او چکید

"Even though he saw the very Reality unveiled :
The words, 'Advance me, my Lord !' dropped from his lips."

THE PROPHET'S ASCENSION

The first line of the verse, just quoted above, alludes to the mystic Vision of the Ascension (*Mi'rāj*) of the Holy Prophet of Islām, when Musṭafā had a prefect glimpse of the Reality Itself. This phenomenon, unique in the history of man, represents the highest type of manhood, leading to an indication of the perfect Prophethood the Slave of Allāh was invested with.

*The Qur'an : part XVI, *surah* xx, sec. 6, verse 114.

£ According to the well-known Tradition of the Holy Prophet—"The quest of knowledge is a sacred duty of every Muslim man and woman."

3. *Piyam-i-Mashriq : Paishkash*, or A Presentation (The Message of the East).

It will be interesting to discuss here briefly the nature and significance of this unique experience in the ministerial life of the Prophet. The Mi'rāj was a reflection of God's all-comprehending knowledge without Time or Space. Man was indeed privileged and honoured, when Allāh's Servant was raised up to hear and see the Mysteries, and God's creatures with their limited faculties of hearing and seeing could do nothing but glorify Him for the unique honour thus conferred on the Greatest Man, Muḥammad, Slave of Allāh (may God's peace and blessings be on him !).

The mystic story of the Mi'rāj is symbolic of the journey the human soul is providentially making in its spiritual growth in life. The Holy Prophet was carried from the sacred Mosque of Mecca to the Temple of Jerusalem in a night, and then taken through the seven Heavens, even to the Sublime Throne, to the very August Presence of God Almighty. He was there initiated into the spiritual mysteries of the human soul struggling in Space and Time.

The Prophet's Night Journey (*Isrā'*) and his Ascension (*Mi'rāj*) are pointedly referred to in the Qur'ān, in *sūrah* xvii and *sūrah* liii, respectively. While *Isrā'* especially signifies the Prophet's Nocturnal Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, *Mi'rāj*, starting from Jerusalem, is the Holy Prophet's Ascension to the highest Heavens. *Isrā'* was thus the miraculous Night Journey preparatory to the Prophet's subsequent phenomenal Ascension, *i.e.*, *Mi'rāj* to the higher Heavens. The former was the prelude to the latter, this being the noble Celestial Journey through the far off, highest spheres.

All the Traditionists (*Muḥaddit͟hīn*) have fully described the event of the Prophet's Mi'rāj in their well-known collections of

Hadīth. A description of the Holy Prophet's Ascension is found in the compendium, which contains the substance of the whole *corpus* of Hadīth literature, known as *Mishkāt al-Masābīh* ("The Niche of the Lamps") and systematised by Imām Wali-ud-Dīn al-Khaṭīb at-Tibrīzī (*d.* 133-7 H.), in the Section bearing the heading, *Bāb fil-Mi'rāj*. Imāms al-Bukhārī (194-256 A.H.) and Muslim (*d.* 261 H.), the foremost among the Traditionists, have given respectively in *Al-Jāmi' as Ṣaḥīḥ* (part XIII), in *Kitāb al-Ambiyā* and *Kitāb Badā' al-Khalq*, and in *Ṣaḥīḥ Mus im*, in *Kitāb al-Imān—Bāb al-Isrā'*, a detailed graphic account of the Last Prophet's miraculous Nocturnal Journey (*Isrā'*, as it is termed in the Qur'ān), breaking at Jerusalem, and his ensuing phenomenal Ascencion (*Mi'rāj*, as it is universally known) to and through the Heavens, and its study helps to elucidate their mystic meaning.

The view that the Prophet's Ascension only signified a Spiritual Journey or Vision is held but by a negligible few. The universally accepted orthodox view is that this peculiar experience of the Holy Prophet was not only spiritual but physical in character. It is, however, conceded that the body was spiritually refined in the miraculous bodily Journey, but the physical body was still there. The Prophet's Ascension was belied by the heathens and rejected mainly for the reason that the physical body could not be imagined to rise in vacuum soar higher in space and then journey to far distant regions in the highest celestial spheres.

There were doubtless occasions when the Last of the Prophets, elevated to a timeless state, had an experience akin to spiritual ascension. The view, substantiated in the Qur'ān, is supported by a Tradition of the Prophet :

لی مع اللہ وقت لا یسعنی فیہ
ملک مقرب و لا نبی مرسل

"I have with God a time in which neither the nearest Angel not the deputed Prophet is given to comprehend me" (the degree of sublime power enjoyed by Musṭafā at those exclusive moments being not allowed either to an exalted Angel or to a Prophet with Divine Mission).

This higher mystical experience of the Prophet is something entirely different from the Mi'rāj that did occur but once about the eve of the Hijrat.

HAFIZ IBN AL-QAYYIM

Treating of the Prophet's Ascension in the course of his thesis in *Zād al-Ma'ād*, Ḥāfiz Ibn al-Qayyim, an eminent orthodox Muslim theologian, affirms that the Spiritual Journey (even if this were admitted) is something quite different from the Vision (this is not possibly admissible), for the former signifies that the noble Soul was made to visit all those places (the far off celestial spheres), whereas the latter hardly envisages such a feature.

SHAH WALI ALLAH

The '*Ulamā*' are unanimously agreed that the Night Journey was made both in the body and soul. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1114-1176 A.H., equivalently, 1703-1765 A.D.) the distinguished *Muḥaddith* and last great theologian of Islām, observes in his monumetal work, *Ḥujjat Ullāh al-Bālighah*, that the Holy Prophet was transported to the Farthest Mosque (the Temple of Jerusalem), thence to the lot-tree of the utmost boundary (*sidrat al-muntahā*), and then upto where God willed, all this occurring in the body and in a wakeful state.

On referring to the relevant Qur'ān-verses bearing on the

Mi'rāj—namely, verse 1, sec. 1, *sūrah* xvii, part XV ; and verses 10-18, sec. 1, *sūrah* liii, part XXVII—we find that the word used there in reference to the Prophet is *'abdehī* (His Servant), and this evidently implies body and soul taken together.

The great Muslim rationalist thinker and commentator, Imām Fakhr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ar-Rāzī (544-606 A.H.), in

FAKHR-UD-DIN AR-RAZI

his remarkable Commentary on the Qur'ān, *Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, proceeds with the argument that the Prophet, when thus transported to the most distant regions and the farthest Heavens, was referred to as His Slave (*'abdehī*), and that term was applicable only when the body and the soul were kept intact. He asserts that the Prophet's human characteristics, including the bodily person, still persisted there during his transportation and Ascension to Heavens (*fakānat basharyyatahū bāqyyatun*, as ar-Rāzī would aptly put it). Ar-Rāzī thereby establishes that the Ascension of the Holy Prophet was caused spiritually as well as bodily, having been effected at once in the soul and the body. The point is simply significant.

There is another vital point, too, to be taken into account while judging and determining the character of this phenomenal experience of the Last of the Prophets. We should rather notice the words of the relevant Qur'ān-verse, referred to in the foregoing, which gives a vivid description of the unique phenomenon of the *Mi'rāj*, just preceded by *Isrā'*, the miraculous Night Journey. The word *asrā* (in the emphatic transitive past, meaning. "He caused to journey by night"), as occurring in the original verse, derives from the root, *Isrā'*, which scriptural term denotes 'Journey by the Night'. That word is immediately further defined, even stressed by the word *laiylun* (at night) in that very verse and this

does connote the actual physical journey undertaken by night, involving journey practically by the material body and the soul combined, by night and in wakeful state, and does not signify mere flight of the spirit, in slumbering condition, *i.e.*, Vision or some other peculiar state of spiritual Flash. This particular meaning of the term is amply elucidated elsewhere in the Qur'ān itself *e.g.*, in *sūrah* xxxxiv (P. XXV, sec. 1, v. 23), where the Prophet Moses is commanded by the Lord to 'journey by night, taking along His slaves, for they shall be pursued.' Likewise, this word is employed in just the same sense at other places in the Holy Book, in special reference to Prophets Lot and Moses, and invariably used there in the imperative form (that is, *asre*, 'do journey by night'), the term also occurring interruptedly, at some of the places, as not even qualified by the word *laiylun* (where this word is taken as understood and its meaning is implied), *viz. sūrahs* xi, xv, xx, & xxvi (P. XII, sec. 7, v. 13 ; P. XIV, sec. 5, v. 5 ; P. XVI, sec. 4, v. 1 ; and P. XIX, sec. 4, v. 1).

Proceeding further, we find yet another illustration of the afore-stated peculiar connotation of the term, occurring elsewhere as a variant with a different aspect, in another verse, in the story of the Hebrew Prophet Moses, retold so vividly because of its vital historic significance and deep instructive value. The variation, *viz. sāra, i.e.*, 'He journeyed' as employed there in that specific Qur'ān-verse (*vide* P. XX, *sūrah* xxviii, sec. 4, v. I), does indeed clearly indicate that Moses journeyed with his family, after having completed his term thus stipulated when contracting the matrimonial alliance, to all intents and purposes, bodily and in a wakeful state, evidently by the night. He espied a fire from a pretty distance, and the fire turned out to be the Fire of Divine Light, after Moses had

physically made his way thither, to the Mount of Sinai and actually got there on the scene. All this but goes to make it abundantly manifest, without the least shadow of doubt, that this journeying, in cases of Prophets Moses and Lot, as well as in the particular case of the Ascension of the Prophet Muḥammad, was conducted throughout in the material body and in the state of physical wakefulness.

Again, it is clearly indicated there in the verses relevantly referred to above that "the eye swerved not, nor did it go wrong," and that "the heart falsified not that which he saw," which fact shows that the Prophet got to the Glorious Divine Presence physically in person and witnessed the Countenance of his Lord, the Universal Lord of all, with the bodily eyes, in a wakeful state.

It is absurd to question and deny the raising of the body on the basis of dry rationalism. It is no use disputing the validity of the view and rejecting it on the flimsy ground of pure intellectualism. The Almighty, Who is holding unsupported the heavier celestial bodies in space must be able to lift the lighter human body up into vacuum and to raise it higher and farther to the loftiest heights of space and even far beyond, in spaceless time. Modern man is practically able to fly with planes higher up in the air through his increased knowlege of science.

Man, today, is actually capable of even firing rockets and launching satellites far higher in the sky and is able to travel in space conveniently, aiming at the physical conquest of space and the planets. Musṭafā, as the chosen Slave of Allāh and as the Last Prophet of God, was enjoying an exalted status with the Lord higher by far than the scientifically advanced man of today.

Obviously, the Lord did manage His Prophet's transportation and his Ascension to the highest Heavens upon a heavenly steed, al-Burraq (from *burq*, electricity), which is indicative of the mysterious motive force of electricity. It follows that the Mi'rāj did certainly occur in the body and in wakeful state, bodily movement and wakefulness being the characteristic feature of this unique, miraculous phenomenon. The Mi'rāj is usually dated to the 27th night of the month of Rajab in the year before the (*Hijrah* (some time about 621 A. D.), and is observed as a most solemn occasion in the Muslim world.

It was on this Journey to higher Heavens that the Prophet received the Commandment for the obligatory prayers *(as-salāt)* to be offered five times a day at scheduled hours by the Faithful. According to a Tradition, the obligatory prayers are to the Believers their ascesion, *in that, thus coming into the presence of God, their souls are purified and ennobled, the Faithful being thereby raised up, of course spiritually. Then, the Mi'rāj is indicative of the fact that the Believer (*Mo'min*) is not only the supreme ruler of this world, but also the lord of the next world.

Above all, the Mi'rāj was the highest reward from the Lord to the Prophet for the severest ordeals and hardships suffered so long and borne so patiently by Musṭafā in the Cause of Allāh and the Faith, during the Meccan Phase of his apostolic mission. The Sūfis have made the Mi'rāj a symbol of the soul's ascension from the world of the flesh to the world of mystic communion with God. Its great literary importance is that it served as the model of the Italian poet Dante's

*The reference is to the famous Hadith : *as salato mi'raj al-mo'minin* (the Prayer is the ascension of the Faithful).

remarkable trilogy, as well as an inspiration to some of the great Muslim thinkers.

This approach to knowledge is in line with the general trend of Islāmic teachings, for, along with his inborn symbolic knowledge * of the names of things, which placed Adam above the Angels and led him to an acceptance of the trust, **the burden of responsibility, qualifying him for Divine Vicegerency, man, in the interest *of his own perfection, is required to gain knowledge and to seek and acquire wisdom, which means that he is to approach Reality and have a knowledge of God's Being through a progressive, assimilative knowledge of His Attributes. Deeply steeped in modern European philosophies, with his deep study and profound knowledge of Western philosophy, Iqbāl, even though he may, both in idea and expression, betray inspiration from the West and may seem to have been influenced by Western thinkers, was originally inspired and profoundly influenced by the vital teachings of *Islām*.

With all his thought and emotion, Iqbāl did not rely merely on reason and passion, often failing and faltering, but he was ever ready to turn to Divine Revelation for his inner illumina-

*See the Holy Qur'an : part 1, *surah* ii, sec 4, verse 31. The Angels having been denied the favour, Adam was taught by God the names (*i.e.*, inner nature and qualities) of all things, and chosen to be the Vicegerent of God upon Earth.

** Referring to the Qur'an-verse : "Verily, we did offer the Trust to the Heavens and to the Earth and to the Mountains ; but they declined to undertake it, being afraid therof. But Man undertook it : verily, he was the unscrupulous ignorant"--part XXII *surah* xxxiii, sec. 9. verse 72. The "Trust" which God offered to Man and which Man accepted, after it had been refused by Heaven and Earth, is personality bearing Divine Vicegerency, i,e., the duty of displaying the Divine Attributes.

tion, intellectual expansion and philosophic maturity, and his own philosophical views were always determined in the light of unfailing, practical guidance he found in that Divine Revelation. Iqbāl's philosophy, in its very spirit, was inspired by the vitalising philosophy permeating the Holy Book, and imbibing its life-stimulating spirit, Iqbāl cultivated and combined in his person characteristics and accomplishments peculiar to him :

و من يؤت الحكمة فقد آوتى خيراً كثيراً *

"And whoever is given wisdom, indeed he is given abundant goodness."

The philosophy that Iqbāl has developed and which he preaches with burning sincerity to Muslims as well as to the modern world is the philosophy of pristine *Isālm*, though presentsd in the idiom of this age. How true Iqbāl is to the spirit of the Faith, in his attitude and true philosophy, when he towards true science interprets in his own inimitable manner the meaning of the above Qur'ān-verse !

4 گفت حکمت را خدا' خیر کثر'
هر کجا این ' خیر ' را بینی بگیر

"God spoke of wisdom as 'abundant goodness :'
Wherever you find this 'good,' get it."

So, true science, or factual knowledge (*'ilm*), and true philosophy, that is practical, sound wisdom (*ḥikmah*), are but the heritage of the Muslim. The Muslim simply seeks to recover his lost belonging, when acquiring and gathering true

* The Qur'an ; part III, surah ii, sec. 37, verse 269.

4. *Piyām-i-Mashriq* (*Paishkash*).

knowledge and wisdom from any source. The teaching of Islām stimulated and encouraged the pursuit of science to a remarkable degree. Themselves great admirers and patrons of learning, the Muslims alone first gave an impetus to the growth of scientific thought and encouraged research in science. It was they who introduced the 'experimantal method' and the spirit of enquiry into various sciences, thus cultivating a scientific approach to the sources of knowledge and developing a critical attitude towards science, philosophy, art, and other manifestations of culture. It was the Muslim Arabs who founded the inductive method and first introduced it into Europe when she was still at the primitive stage.

WEST'S INDEBTEDNESS TO ISLAM

Today, all the progress of the West, its achievements in science and other fields of human activity, is not entirely of its own, certainly not due to its own initiative. Historically, Islām had its impact on Western Civilization and had considerably influenced Europe's intellectual expansion, long before the modern West began to extend its potential cultural influences to and exert them upon the contemporary Muslim World. In fact, Western culture has received a good deal of inspiration from the legacy of Islām, and the scientific advancement of modern Europe bears the stamp of the influence of Islāmic cultural tradition. In no way does Europe owe its technical skill and the progress of science to the Christian Church. "Christianity," says a reputed Indian educationist, "frowned upon science and tolerated a great deal of persecution of the scientific spirit carried on in its name with the result that in the early Middle Ages, Europe found itself plunged into intellectual darkness." "Undisputedly, in those days, in the Ages following the fall of Rome, Christian Europe was sunk

deep into barbarism, while civilization, science and art flourished so freely, widely and brilliantly in the Muslim world.

The introduction of scientific method by the Muslims, the Muslim contribution to Western wisdom and that the Western culture has borrowed largely from the culture of Islām are facts well documented by history and so well known to a student of the history of Europe's intellectual development.

Slowly and reluctantly, the West has been led to acknowledge its indebtedness to the Muslim culture, and recognise the contribution of the Muslims, particularly of the Arabs, to science, philosophy, and other branches of human knowledge. Speaking of Islāmic influences on the development of modern science and the Arabs' contribution towards European culture, an eminent American historian of civilization observes, *Science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world. Nowhere is this* (*i.e.*, the decisive influence of Islāmic culture) *so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the permanent distinctive force of the modern world and the supreme source of its victory, natural science and the scientific spirit.* *And, a well-known European writer, noted for his deep-rooted bias against Islām and his woeful ignorance of its historic mission and utter blindness to its role, is constrained to admit the Western world's deep indebtedness to Islām and the Muslims in the domain of science and culture, remarking,"......how deeply to this book (the Qur'ān) Asia and Africa are indebted for daily guidance, *how*

* R. Briffault, *The Making of Humanity.*

deeply Europe and America for the light of science." Again, the same writer remarks, *The Arab has left his intellectual impress on Europe, as, before long, Christendom will have to confess.**

IQBAL AND WESTERN THINKERS

A careful study of his works shows that Iqbāl shared the eminent French philosopher Bergson's dislike of discursive reasoning and, like Bergson, his views were guided by Nature and Experience, and on this account, as a philosopher, he has been compared with Bergson. An able exponent of the theory of vitalism and the life-force,

BERGSON

Henri Bergson (1859-1941) was a contemporary of Iqbāl (1873-1938), the two philosophers coming into closer contact with each other. Like Iqbāl's philosophy, the philosophy of Bergson is practical, regarding action as the supreme good. Iqbāl's concept of Divine Time is his original contribution to modern religio-philosophical thought, but his conception of Time and his views regarding allied questions were definitely influenced by the ideas of that leading French philosopher, as developed in his *L' evolution Creatrice*.

BROWNING AND MILTON

Iqbāl's expression was sometimes rather obscure, and this has led many a critic of the poet to find similarity between him and the famous English poet, Robert Browning (1812-1889). This peculiarity of expression is a characteristic feauture of Iqbāl as well as of Browning which renders both the poets so difficult to understand. The epic strain in Iqbāl's poetry furnishes fair comparison with John Milton (1608-1674), England's greatest epic poet. Milton's classical poem, *Paradise Lost*, evokes the readers' unstinted admiration because of its vigour of expression and intense fervour. The style followed by Iqbāl in his important epic poem, *Jāwed Nāmah.* (The Eternal Book), which has already passed into

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* J.W. Draper, *The Intellctual Development of Europe* (vol. I & vol. II).

a classic, is at places refreshingly reminiscent of Milton's majestic style that dominates the English poet's noble epic.

BYRON AND SHELLEY

In Iqbāl we have delightful echoes of Byron (1788-1824) and Shelley (1792-1822), the most brilliant of English poetic geniuses of the 19th century. Full of passion, charm, and beauty as Iqbāl's poetry is, one finds points of striking resemblance between this great poet and those renowned British poets. A common feature peculiar to these poets is that their lyrics show intense emotional power and reveal profound beauty and subtlety of thought.

FICHTE AND KANT

It makes a refreshing study to notice Iqbāl's affinity with the thought of the eminent German philosopher. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), in so far as the two philosophers' theories of the Ego are concerned. This German philosopher, like Iqbāl, is noted for his moral intensity and creativeness of thought. Iqbāl's philosophy of the Self seems to have been partially influenced by Fichte's corresponding speculations in the field, though the former's theory, taken in its entirety, is definitely a marked improvement on the latter's views.

Fichte lived in the time of the great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), whose philosophy influenced the former's mode of thinking. Kant's works were of immense influence in shaping Europe's philosophical thought of the 18th and 19th centuries. His main achievement is that he established the triumph of Intuition over Intellect, stressing the former as the only means of attaining ultimate knowledge and truth. His transcendental theories, as set forth in Kant's principal work *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, obviously exerted positive influence upon the development of Iqbāl's philosophical thought.

As an able exponent of the Kantian philosophy, Fichte defined the relation of philosophy to religion. An original thinker, he evolved and founded his own system of philosophy. His works had great influence upon the thought of his time and prepared the way for the later Hegelian dialectics. Fichte is to be reckoned among those great Germans who have effected the moral and religious regeneration of the German nation. *System der Sittenlehre* is probably the most important of Fichte's works. The idealist philosophy he taught is marked by much purity of conception. Fichte is doubtless one of the leaders of German philosophical thought who have influenced the evolution and shaping of Western thought, have affected modern Europe's intellectual trends, and have left a lasting impression upon the conceptual structure of the Occident.

GOETHE

Iqbāl's great inspiration, however, was Goethe, the German poet and philosopher, and *Piyām-i-Mashriq.* (The Orient's Message), one of the former's best known Persian poetic works, written in response to the latter's well-known *Divan,* bears eloquent testimony to this influence. *Der West-Oestlicher Divan,* the notable poetic work of the great German poet-philosopher, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), was inspired by his study of the German versions of the distinguished Persian poets' works, particularly the famous *Diwān* of that celebrated mystic-lyric poet of Persia, Khawājah Shams-ud-Din Muḥammad *Hāfiz* of Shīrāz (*d.* 1388 A.D.). It is Hāfiz, the supreme master of lyric poetry, who with his alluring raptures is venerated in Sūfī circles as a master-hierophant (*Lassān al-Ghaib*), the inspired expounder of sacred mysteries.

The fine poetic composition of Goethe, following the style of Hāfiz, is a collection of lyrics, matchless in form and highly

concentrated in expression. The bountiful Providence dispenses its gifts wisely and fairly to all nations, making no discrimination between East and West. Thus we see that Goethe was a contemporary of the great Mughal poet-thinker Mirzā Asad Ullāh Khān *Ghālib* of Delhi (1797-1869). Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), German poet-philosopher and playwright of great eminence, was Goethe's illustrious literary contemporary and his congenial friend and colleague, the two German poets influencing each other profoundly. The death of Schiller, regarded as Germany's greatest poet next only to Goethe, which occurred in 1805, at the premature age of 46, moved Goethe so deeply as to evoke an eloquent elegy, the tribute to that superb poetic genius finding expression in Goethe's noble poem, *Epilog zu Schiller's Glocke*.

Goethe's remarkable poetic drama, *Faust*, regarded as the "Divine Comedy" of 18th century humanism, is the crowning achievement of his literary life and constitutes an enduring monument to the poet's creative mind. This great dramatic poem, which accompanied Goethe from early manhood to the end, epitomises the poet's whole life and was his masterpiece. Goethe's interesting autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* is one of the world's greatest auotbiographies. Therein in a fascinating manner the poet himself records the events of his life and gives a descriptive account of his intellectual accomplishments and literary achievements. There one notices the gradual evolution of an inspiring supreme genius, a *Weltbuerger* (world-citizen), whom a hero-seeking people, in the state of political humiliation and national dismemberment, might, well be looking forward to with earnest hope.

With a view to ascertain the reasons for the essential

similarity between the two great thinkers, Coethe's and Iqbāl's attitudes towards Life and their approaches to its vital problems bearing on the character and collective life of the nation, it would be profitable to study the effects, and the *ins* and *outs* of what goes by the name of 'Oriental Movemet' in German literature. With the publication in 1812 of the complete translation of Khawājah Hāfiz's *Dīwān* by the noted German Orientalist, Von Hammer (Josef von Hammer-Purgstall, to give the German scholar's full name, who lived from 1774 till 1856) was initiated in German literature what is known as the 'Oriental Movement.' While in his sixties, Goethe witnessed the decadence of the German nation which by then had reached its climax in every aspect. There is a marked resemblance between the conditions that obtained in the Germany (Deutschland) of one hundred and fifty years ago and those of the present East, particularly the Islāmic East. Whereas the former was ruthlessly trampled upon by the forces of ambitious France, the latter was exposed to aggressive penetration by the imperialist Powers of modern Europe. The German Translation of Hāfiz, which was sent to Goethe as Von Hammer's personal present to the poet, gave Goethe a fresh poetic inspiration. Hāfiz's melody stirred Goethe's imagination to its very depths, this eventually finding concrete shape in the *West-Oestlicher Divan*.

Goethe is definitely indebted, besides owing much to Hāfiz and Sa'dī, to other great Persian Poets, such as 'Attār (*d.* 1230 A.D.), the mystic, and Firdausī (*c.* 940-1020 A.D.), the national epic bard and author of the *Shāhnāmah*, as well as to general Islāmic literature. Thus, through the medium of the *West-Oestlicher Divan*, Goethe attempted to breathe a Persian spirit into German literature. The other German poets that followed Goethe brought to maturity the 'Oriental Movement,'

which had thus been started with the *Divan* of Goethe. It may be pointed out that Goethe's famous contemporary and compatriot, Heine, on the whole, had little to do with the 'Oriental Movement.' It is, however significant that even Heine, in whose opinion the Oriental poetry of German poets, excepting Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan*, had not much vital importance, could not escape the fascination of the influences of Persian charms. Interestingly enough, it was Heine, the Jew, who spoke of Goethe, the Christian freed from the narrow outlook of the dogmatic faith, as *der grosse Heide* (the great Heathen).

It is interesting to note that the German scholars' growing contact with Oriental learning and humanities, their increasing interest in Islamic studies and their painstaking researches in the rich literary and scientific legacies of Arabia and Persia, starting with the early nineteenth century A.D., introduced, as stated before, into German literature what is known as the 'Oriental Movement.' The outcome of the Movement was that there arose in Germany a permanent body of savants, the eminent German Orientalists, some of them gifted poets, who devoted themselves to extensive researches in Oriental, especially Islāmic, studies, enriching thereby the German language and literature with original productions as well as translations of select Arabic and Persian, and also Turkish and Sanskrit literary works, both prose and poetry.

German literature, thus, came to have a deep impress of the influence of Persian poetry, and the fact accounts for the peculiar Orientalism discernible in Goethe's poetry. Besides studying the works of several other German Orientalists of the late 18th century, Goethe had studied closely and benefited by Von Hammer's *Geschichte der schonen Redekūnote Persiens*. Having spontaneously assimilated the spirit of Persia's master

minds, Goethe's versatile genius eminently succeeded in creating an Oriental atmosphere about his poetic thought. Vital indeed is the role of classical Persian literature in enriching the world literary thought and higher Persian literature has positively contributed to the enrichment of German literary thought.

With his own representation of the original Islāmic traditions and his characteristic interpretation of the ideals associated with pristine Islām, Iqbāl's striking affinity with the Christian German poet, distinguished for his enlightened outlook, is quite significant. This affinity in the comparative thought of the two poets is obviously made so conspicuous, because of the profound breadth of vision and the wide cultural sympathies which characterise them both.

Extending our scrutiny over a wider field, we discover there is yet another vital factor, based on an historic fact, that contributes to making the two thinkers' ways of thinking and their approaches to Life and its exigencies conspicuously identical. That fact consists in the phenomenon of the marked similarity of conditions obtaining in Germany, especially in the time of Goethe, and those in the Muslim world, in the days of Iqbāl. The affinity between Iqbāl and Goethe is, therefore, not only one of form and expression, it is one of intellect and spirit. It is, then, not the least surprising, if one should be finding much in common between the two poets.

It should be refreshing to observe that in the enlightening prologue to his monumental work, *Piyām.i-Mashriq* Iqbāl, while paying a glowing tribute to Goethe as Germany's supreme poetic genius, who was so profoundly impressed by the classical literary traditions of Muslim Persia, invokes a revealing

comparative study of himself and the German poet. Of Goethe's greatness as poet and thinker he says :

5 پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی
آن قتیل شیوہ ہائے پہلوی

"The grand sage of the West, the German poet ; He fell a victim to the irresistible charms of Persian."

Goethe composed an excellent German collection of sublime lyrics, modelled on the pattern of the Persian master, Ḥāfiz, which thus formed the fine *West-Oestlicher Divan*. Goethe's imaginative power, influenced by the verse of Ḥāfiz, the Interpreter of Spiritual Mysteries (*Tarjumān-e-Asrār*), and having been led to a fresh avenue under the impulse of inspiration, casts light on Life's very intricate and profound problems. Goethe's *Divan* was actually styled by the poet himself as *Salām* (the courteous greeting, after the traditional Muslim way), thus communicated by him from the West to the East.

6 بست نقش شاہدان شوخ و شنگ
داد مشرق راسلامے از فرنگ

"He designed a plan, depicting many a smart, captivating sweetheart :

He conveyed a greeting cordial from the West, to the East."

It will be noticed with interest that the two poets are likened by Iqbāl himself, to a pair of priceless pearls lurking in the bed of the unfathomable ocean ; the one glittering in full effulgence,

5. & 6. Piyam-i-Mashriq (Paishkash).

having come out of the shell; the other not radiating yet the beams of its lustre, being still shut within the shell; the two are rather like two swords, the one drawn naked, the other still sheathed. The most significant fact is that both Goethe and Iqbāl, the great seers, to whom the inner secrets of Nature and of the Universe were revealed by the wise Providence, brought the message of fresh hope and new life to two different peoples, the German nation and the Muslim Millat, just when both had fallen low and lingered on the verge of decay and death, bereft of all Life and Power:

7 ہر دو دانائے ضمیر کائنات

ہر دو پیغام حیات اندر ممات

"Both of them are men, gifted with the keen perception of the Universe's inner working:

Both of them constitute the message of Life to a people in Death-throe."

The *Divan* of Goethe, represented as a pretty *bouquet* thus presented to the East, signifying feelings of devotion of the spiritually colder West, is rightly taken to be expressive of the West's ardent longing for the warmth it seeks in the strong bosom of the East. Written ostensibly in response to Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan*, Iqbāl's *Piyām-i-Mashriq*, while serving as it does as a silver lining in the darkest clouds that apparently cover and darken the Eastern horizon, communicates that spiritual vigour of the Orient to the Occident which is so strongly needed by the latter. Incidentally, it is for the first time in the history of Oriental poetry that it has directly

7. Piyam-i-Mashriq (Paishkash).

addressed its message to the West, attempting thereby to convey the vital warmth in the healthy bosom of Asia to the icy-cold sphere of Europe :

8 در جوابش گفته ام پیغام شرق
ماه تابے ریختم بر شام شرق

"As a fitting response to him I have composed the Orient's Message :

I have thus caused a moon to appear on the eve of the Orient."

That Goethe, the German *Philosoph des Lebens* (Philosopher of Life), in his poetic inspiration was influenced by the great Persian poets, such as Ḥāfiz, the mystic seer, and Shaikh Musleḥ-ud-Dīn *Sa'dī* (c. 1184-1292 A.D.), the moralist and author of the widely read *Gulistān* and *Bustān*, of whom the German poet was an ardent admirer, is evident from his *Divan*.

To appreciate the full import of this contribution of Goethe and to appraise the true value of the *Divan* in the right cultural perspective, we could do no better than fall back upon a contemporary German authority, qualified to give a sound verdict. I should quote here in the original the comprehensive opinion of the eminent German Israelite lyric poet, Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), about Goethe's *Divan*, which, while employing subtle poetical imagery in prose, brings out its real historic significance, reading, "*Unbeschreiblich ist der Zauber* dieses Buches : es ist ein Selam, den der Occident dem Oriente geschickt hat : und es sind gar narrische Blumen darunter :

8. Piyam-i-Mashriq (Paishkash).

sinnlich rote Rosen, Hortenscen wie weiBe nackte Madchenbusen spaBhaftes Lowenmaul, Purpurdigitalis wie lange Menschenfinger, verdrehte Krokosnasen, und in der Mitte, lauschend verborgen, stille deutsche Veilchen. Dieser Selām aber bedeutet, daB der Occident seines frierend mageren Spiritualismus uberdrussig geworden und an der gesunden Korperwelt *des Orients sich wieder erlaben mochte.**

Iqbāl in his turn was inspired by Goethe, of course the greatest poetic genius of Germany. Iqbāl has appropriately dedicated his *Piyām-i-Mashirq* to the memory of the German poet, thus returning the cordial greeting conveyed to the Orient from the Occident through Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan.* More than a century later, after the *West-Oestlicher Divan* had been written, Iqbāl, in his *Piyām-i-Mashriq*, which was prompted by the *Divan* of Goethe, responds to the yearnings of the restless,

* English rendering of Heine's opinion about Goethe's Divan would read: "Indescribable is the charm of this book. It is a "Salam" (Greeting) which the Occident has sent to the Orient. And there are quite strange little flowers under it (among the flowers of this bouquet); sensuous red roses, hydrangeae like maidens' naked white breasts, funny snapdragon, purple digitalis like long human fingers, twisted crocus noses, and in the middle, listening hidden, silent German violets. This "Salam", however, signifies that the Occident has become weary of its freezingly lean spiritualism, and wants to refresh itself at the healthy physical world of the Orient." The substance of Heine's remarks concerning the Divan might better be given thus: 'Goethe's Divan is a votive nosegay sent from the West to the East. This nosegay signifies that the West is tired of thin and icy-cold spirituality, and seeks warmth in the strong and healthy bosom of the East'. (The German extract is quoted from Heinrich Heine's Die romantische Schule, p. 59).

torn soul of the West: he vigorously voices the spiritual message of the East and wisely expounds the inspiring message of Islām to the modern materialistic Europe.

It may be pointed out that Goethe's place in the estimation of Christian Germans and Westerners, and for that matter of Christian world in general, is akin to Iqbāl's position with Muslim Indians and Easterners, and thus in the Muslim world in general, both being great teachers and intellectual leaders of humanity.

DANTE

Iqbāl's noble Persian poetic work, *Jāwed Nāmah*, is an apt answer and a fitting rejoinder to *La Divina Commedia* the famous poem by the great Italian poet-philosopher, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321 A.D.). He was a contemporary of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi (who lived from 1253 till 1325 A.D. and was descended from a Turkish ancestry), the renowned Muslim Persian poet, musician, scholar, historian, mystic and courtier of some of the early Turko-Afghān kings of Hindustān. Guido Cavalcanti (*c.* 1250-1300 A.D.), literary contemporay of Dante and great Italian lyric poet and philosopher, was a close friend of Dante, and probably had much influenee on the young writer's poetic form. The poem of Dante, also known as *Dante's Vision*, towers like a landmark in medieval European literature, symbolising the culture of medieval Europe. Dante, in his *Divine Comedy*, though still medieval, is modern in his use of the vernacular instead of Latin as the medium for his verse.

Dante's wonderful Italian poem, *La Divina Commedia*, which has three sections, called the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio*, and the *Paradiso*, is an allegory of human life in the form of a vision.

Dante's first poem, *La Vita Nuova*, was inspired by the poet's love for Beatrice, (1266-1290 A.D), the fair maiden of his native town, Florence. His *Divina Commedia*, completed a few months before the poet's death, occurring in 1321 A.D., has immortalised that love which was spiritualised after the beloved's death at the young blossoming age, yet in her early twenties. In his imaginary flights to heavens, in which he was first guided, through *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, by the classical Roman poet Virgil (70-19 B.C.), Dante had his fair lady of love, Beatrice, as his guide, until the poet got to the last stage of the celestial journey—*Il Paradiso*.

It is interesting to note that the Mi'rāj literature pertaining to the Prophet's Ascension had a great influence on the medieval literature of Europe, and especially on the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. In his commentary on the *Divtna Commedia* which represents a fresh approach and startling one, too, from the Western standpoint,* Miguel Asin Palacios, formerly Arabic professor at the University of Madrid, has dwelt on the Islâmic aspect of the Italian poet's sources of inspiration. The Spanish Professor—a Catholic priest by religious persuasion—has shown that for his allegorical flight through heavens, and for his vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, Dante was more indebted to the traditions of Islām than to Christian traditions. The Ascension (*Mi'rāj*) of the Holy Prophet of Islām was the source of great

* Prof. Miguel Asin's revealing researches are embodied in his important Spanish work, La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Commedia. There exists an abridged English translation of the book by Harold L. Sunderland, under the title of "Islam and the Divine Comedy".

poetic inspiration to Dante. Dante's narrative is, therefore, mainly based on the story of the Last Prophet's Ascension to Heavens and his Ascent to Paradise. The *Divine Comedy* has greatly influenced the Christian religious thought of Europe, and is regarded as one of the world's noble classics.

It is from the fascinating studies of the late Prof. Miguel Asin of Madrid that we discover the enormous influence of the Spanish Muslim mystic Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240 A.D.) on Dante. Himself inspired by the Holy Prophet's Ascension (*Mi'rāj*), the Arab first described in his famous *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* the infernal region, the heavens, Paradise, the choirs of Angels round the Divine Light, and the beautiful woman who was his guide. Thanks to Professor Asin's researches in the field and his findings the link between the Spaniard and the Florentine has since been discovered, and the fact of affiliation is now well established. Evidently, Dante's idea, as embodied in his poem, was not original; he had already been supplied with the material by the Muslim long ago, and this the Italian poet had simply to use so as to imbue the whole thing with the Christian atmosphere.

A sublime thoughtful epic and a high classic of great depth, with the philosophic vein running through the poem, Iqbāl's *Jāwed Nāmah* would easily bear comparison with Dante's *Divina Commedia* and thus, bearing fair analogy to the *Commedia* in its allegorical journeys through the heavens, its visions, its graphic description of events, vivid depiction of scenes and masterly delineation of characters with different roles, and its recording of the wise discourses of the great ones and the accounts of the mighty souls dwelling therein, could appropriately be called the "Divine Comedy" of the East. The *Jāwed Nāmah* is modelled

on the *Divina Commedia*, the Persian poem, in many a respect, being thus analogous to the Italian poem.

Iqbāl, on his part, was inspired by the original Islāmic tradition of the Holy Prophet's Ascension to the highest Heavens. In his epic poem, *Jāwed Nāmah* which is admittedly the poet's *magnum opus*, he creates a thoroughly Islāmic atmosphere, with a background set against the ideals of pristine Islām. While Dante is guided by the Roman Master, Virgil, in his imaginary flights through heavens, Iqbāl has the Persian Sage, Rūmī, for his guide in his visionary journeys through the celestial spheres, and escorted by Rūmī he journeys from heaven to heaven, contacting great personalities which once inhabited the earth and having discourses with them ; the two great poets professing two different faiths and representing two divergent cultures. Just as Dante would speak of the profound questions in the Christian context, Iqbāl would tell of the delicate and vital problems in the characteristic Islāmic way. It may be pointed out that what Dante was to the Christendom of his age, Iqbāl is to the modern World of Islām.

CONCEPTION OF THE IDEAL MAN

One of the vitally interesting themes with Iqbāl is that of the 'Ideal Man'. This is a recurring theme dwelt upon by the poet, philosopher in his writings in a fās-cinating manner. He is apt to introduce it again and again, and make at least a passing reference to the 'Man' each time employing his own terminology and using his own phraseology with a view to convey to the reader the peculiar significance of his 'Ideal Man.' So it is that one finds different names given to the same 'Man,' whose virtues and qualities are described or mentioned variously : the form being different, the spirit remains essentially uniform. One probable explanation

for this attitude of the poet, with his obvious stress on the 'Ideal Man,' seems to be that Iqbal means to inculcate his favourite doctrine of the dignity of man. He may be taken as a religious enthusiast in preaching that gospel, for, with, the 'Ideal Man,' as the lord of creation, is the true Vicegerent of God upon Earth. Besides, the concept of the 'Ideal Man' eminently suits the philosophical set up of the thinker in that his favourite theory of the Ego actually finds its concrete translation in the person and behaviour of the 'Man.' Thus, we find that he is ever intent on bringing home the vital truth, telling vigorously that the 'Ideal Man,' following a particular line of thought and action, is endowed with superb potentialities which could be directed to constructive channels and utilised to individual and collective benefit.

The 'Ideal Man' has intrigued some of the very eminent concept evolves at various stag... We notice the phical thought both in the East and West. The peculiar s... on the individual's personality, so manifest in the writings of some of the influential modern writers, has further brought into prominence the unique role the 'Ideal Man' is destined to play in the life of the nation. The sociological and cultural implications of the propositions are many and farreaching, and the 'Ideal Man' is concerned with the nation's ultimate destiny. The scope is so wide : it would not be possible here to expatiate on the yearnings and strenuous exertions of the ambitious thinkers to discover a pattern for men in their 'Ideal Man.' The more intellectually emancipated of those thinkers were inspired by a nobler outlook, that of collective good ; while the mental horizon of others was fettered to the boundaries of the mother

country and restricted to the confines of the fatherland—narrow, exclusive, even aggressive.

DIFFERENT NOTIONS

Thus, without extending our scrutiny to fields far beyond the immediate subject, we may be making brief references to some of the distinguished philosophers, who, in one way or the other, had to do with the 'Ideal Man' and also made some substantial contribution to the translation of the theory into reality. The forms of this reality would, of course, be everywhere different, according to their particular traditions and notions, and after their own peculiar bents of mind and modes of thinking. In fact, we are presently concerned more with the 'Ideal Man' represented by Iqbāl than with other types of the 'Ideal Man,' as expounded by some of the leading thinkers of the world.

It goes without saying that the conception of origin may not is not quite [illegible] particular individual philosopher. As already pointed out, men in their insatiable thirst for a unique personality struggled hard and long, incessantly and desperately through the ages, in order to be able to carve out a pattern to be followed and imitated. Their earnest and constant quest for the so called 'Ideal Man', at first, so vague and imaginary, has, at long last, bestowed some life on the obscure 'Man,' the age-long dream seems to be coming some way nearer its realization.

Here we have touched on a vital question of deep mystical and philosophical nature that deserves our special notice, because it bears far-reaching implications and is common to Muslim

and Western thought. It would appear that *Ibnal-'Arabi's Insān-e-Kāmil*, Rūmī's *Mard-i-Khudā*, *Al-Jilī's Insān al-Kāmil*, Carlyle's *Hero*, Bergsons's *Elan Vital*, Nietzsche's *Ubermensch*, and Iqbāl's *Mo'min*, though not identical with one another for obvious reasons, are but one eloquent expression of the burning urge for the 'Ideal Man' that agitated the minds and animated the spirits of those great men.

As God's Vicegerent on Earth, the 'Perfect Man' is a mirror of the Divine Mind. The supreme type of such a 'Perfect Man' is the Spirit of Mustafā (may God bless and keep him !). The spark borrowd from the 'Light' that illuminated his noble soul had gone to illuminate those of the Prophets as well as of the saints. The 'Perfect Man' has realised his oneness with God, and his guidance becomes essential for those who have the same object in mind. That is the widely accepted Sufi view, and the ...consistently in Islāmic Sufism.

It is signi... doctrine of the 'idea of Muḥammad' (peace ... upon him) appeared in sūfī writings. This was, so to say, the beginning of the mystic conception of the 'Ideal Man' among the Ṣūfīs, which in due course found its concrete expression iu the thought of Ibn al-'Arabi, the great Muslim Ṣūfī philosopher of Spain. 'The leader of the pantheistic-monistic current in Islamic Mysticism,'* Shaikh Moḥy-ud-Dīn ibn, al-'Arabī (1165—1240 A.D.) was a mystic of the extreme order. Known among Ṣūfīs of high order as *Shakih al-Akbar*, the Supreme Mystic Guide, Ibn al-'Arabī is believed to have attained genuine mystical experience, as will be seen from his works, notably

* Vide Iqbal's doctornal thesis, The Development of Metaphysics in Persia.

Al Futūhāt al-Makkīyah fī Ma'rifat al-Asrar al-Mulakiyāh ("Meccan Revelations on the knowledge of the Angelic" Secrets). While the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* is a general encyclopaedia of Sūfic beliefs and doctrines, the *Fusūs* is the characteristic work of Ibn al-'Arabī, and *Fusūs al-*Ḥikam. ("The Seal Stones of Wisdoms).

Ibn al-'Arabi is considered to be the greatest representative of *at-tasawouf* (Sūfism) which he developed more than any body else. The famous theory of Pantheistic mysti-

IBN AL-'ARABI'S "INSAN-E-KAMIL"

cism (*wahdat al-wajūd*), so popular with the Muslim Sūfīs, especially the Persian mystics, and considered the central idea of Ṣūfism, is generally ascribed in its origin to the Shaikh. Indeed, with Ibn al-'Arabī Mystitism reaches its culminating point in Pantheism, so much so that Ṣūfism assumes a thoroughly panthesitic character.

In his writings Ibn al-'Arabi propounds [illegible]iple living in and it is, with its [illegible] this principle is made vivid in the [illegible]'s exalted person. The Idea or Reality of Mustafā is the creative and animating principle of the Universe. He is the reality of realities, which manifests itself in the 'Perfect Man,' who is the cause of the universe. Consequently, the 'Perfect Man' is he in whom all the attributes of microcosm are reflected. Mystically the 'Perfect Man' is represented in the Arab's thought as the visible aspect of God in relation to the world. In his *Futūḥāt*, and more pronouncedly in his *Fusūs*, Ibn al-'Arabī refers to his own 'Ideal Man,' the genuine mystic, who, while steadily progressing in his spiritual activity, has attained to prophetic consciousness, although the Shaikh's ideally Perfect Man' is by no means a Prophet, and as such does not

claim himself to be the centre of a new organization. Such are the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī regarding the 'Perfect Man,' and such is the place assigned to the 'Man' in his thought.

RUMIS "MARD-E-KHUDA"

Turning to Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn *Rūmī* (1207-1273 A.D.), the renowned Persian mystic poet, the Platonic Love of God is made the basic tenet of his faith. In this Love the ardent seeker after God, the mystic, will lose his identity by becoming one with Him, which is the end of all his spiritual ambition and ceaseless striving. Rūmī cultivates a Platonic Love with the 'Perfect Man,' whose saintliness and 'godliness' are indicative of his nearness to God.

Rūmī's approach, it may by noted, is typically different from that of Ibn al-'Arabi: the latter's approach is mainly philosophical, whereas the former's is intensely emotional and personal. But, one point is strikingly common to both the mystic thinkers, and this Persian mystic [illegible] bears the stamp of Pantheism, the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn-al-'Arabī. Both Rūmī and Ibn al-'Arabī hold Pantheism as their cherished creed. The idea of the 'Man of God' (*Mard-e-Khudā*), sublimely presented and propounded by the great mystic, pervades throughout Maulānā Rūmi's popular and widely read *Mathnaw-i-Ma'nawi*, in six books or *daftars magnum opus*, ranking among the world's highest literary works.

AL-JILI'S "INSAN AL-KAMIL"

The eminent Persian Muslim divine and mystic, Shaikh Abdul Karim ibn Ibrahim al-Jili (*b.* 1365 A.D.), who wrote an independent treatise on the subject, has elaborated in his work the concept of the 'Perfect Man', in his own way. Man's highest spiritual perfection is attained when his heart wholly becomes illumined. As the Divine image,

in the 'Perfect Man,' so Al-Jili maintains, all Divine Attributes are reflected and manifested. Present at all times, the 'Man' is illumined by Divine Names, to illumine, in his turn, the world around with life and virtue. The 'Perfect Man' is the intermediary between the Creator and creatures. Briefly, he is the life and soul of the world, the pivot round which revolves the universe. With his deep mystic character, this 'Perfect Man' may not be made known to people, but his very existence brings virtue and harmony in the world. The ideal of the 'Perfect Man (*Insan al-Kamil* is exclusively presented expounded by Al-Jili in his famous work, *Al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifat-il-Awākhir wal-Awail* (The Perfect Man, in the Knowledge of the Ancients and the Moderns).

In his principal Sufistic work, *Al-Insan al-Kamil*, Shaikh Al-Jili traces the evolution of the mystic idea of the 'Perfect Man' during sucessive stages, right from the earliest times down to the latest age discusses the different views as held teaching of Al-Jili [illegible] proroundly influenced by the great Spanish Muslim mystic saint Ibn al-'Arabī's mode of thought. The entire mystical and philosophical thought of Ibn al-'Arabī is inspired by and based on his peculiar pantheistic doctrine, and this very Pantheism (*Wahdat al-Wajud*) of Ibn al-'Arabī has deeply influenced Al-Jili's own Sufistic teaching.

CARLYLE'S "HERO"

The eminent British historian and philosopher, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), in his famous work, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, holds up persons as Heroes from different walks of life for patterns. His monumental historical work, *The French Revolution*, has given Carlyle a high place among leading English writers and historians. Carlyle, who was greatly influenced by German thought and literature, as

evidenced by his style and writings was a contemporary of Goethe (1749-1832), the greatest of the German poets. Taking history to be the biography of great men, Carlyle makes biography the essence of history. The doctrine of 'hero-worship' first expounded by Carlyle in his thoughtful book, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, comprising an illuminating series of lectures, exalts the individual at the expense of the people.

The philosopher attributes all great events to the 'heroes,' who, as he maintains, are the successive embodiments of divine revelations. Carlyle believed that the world must be governed by 'heroes'—strong, just men. Consequently, he felt that the people should put their faith in such men and not in democracy. Thus, Shakespeare (1564-1616) from England and Dante (1265-1321) from Italy, holding unquestionable sway in the realm of poetry, are Ideal Men with him.

But, however [illegible] regarded as Ideal Men in a very restricted sense, [illegible] however sublime and constructive, represents one single aspect of human culture, and on that factor alone the entire social structure of a people cannot possibly be erected. As such, the 'Ideal Man' thus eulogised by the British thinker would not be the eagerly sought 'Ideal Man.' There is, however, a far more important contribution made by Carlyle towards the concept of the 'Ideal Man.'

It is characteristic of a Christian writer like Carlyle that he would say naught of Jesus Christ, one of the persons of the 'Holy Trinity, in terms of Hero, for obviously he could not represent Christ as the 'Ideal Man. It is noteworthy that he speaks of the Holy Prophet of Islam as a Hero. Indeed, the Prophet

is the Hero *par excellence*. He is the very 'Ideal Man, sought through the ages of human history and being the mightiest historical personality is ever real and living; while others, the lesser Ideal Men, as expounded by various other thinkers, pale down as imaginary and legendary figures. The significance of the testimony furnished by a distinguished non-Muslim writer need not be over-stressed, for its cultural value could only be appraised when viewed in its proper historic perspective. This is vitally important to the followers of the Faith, with whom the Prophet is the 'Ideal Man,' the World Exemplar.

BERGSON'S "ELAN VITAL"

Henri Bergson (1859-1941), leading French philosopher of the 20th century, is famed for his vital theories of movement and change. We shall very briefly speak of the outstanding ideas of his philosophy, and this should serve as a useful background to a proper grasp of Bergson's peculiar concept of the life-impulse [illegible] called *Elan Vital*. Obviously [illegible] the 'Ideal Man' himself; [illegible] from which the 'Man' might well be made, and thus abstractly be taken as symbolic of the 'Ideal Man.' And, it is this aspect of the French philosopher's thought which is presently to be treated of. In *L' evolution Creatrice*, which is his most important work and which so lucidly expresses his ideas as to the secret of the universe, Bergson studies the whole problem of existence. He supports evolution by a discussion of Being which itself is both Change and Movement. Setting forth his speculations and regards evolution, this thinker develops his own ideas with regard to the driving impulse of Life—the *Elan Vital*.

Bergson maintains that the body and the mind are interrelated, the former being but the instrument of the latter. But,

the mind itself is merely the local and partial manifestation of the concentrated human force. By virtue of their very limitations both mechanism and purposism, or vitalism, fail to explain the full reality of this force. Here come in Bergson's significant ideas of duration and creation. Every individual living form is one continuous entity carrying along with it the past. Life is to be conceived as one great, continuous movement, manifesting itself in the individual forms it produces. Bergson, thus, while questioning the position of seience in explaining universe on mechanical principles, regards Life not as something static, but one long movement, involving an unceasing process of creative evolution.

According to Bergson, the type of activity we experience in our own life is the vital impulse (*Elan Vital*), the spring of Life, and the *principle* that explains creative evolution, which expresses itself in the sequence of change. Life is something that endures by changing, since the *Life-impulse* bears along in it the whole of its past reflected in life's present activity. But life is duration, and matter is a limit, and this, while acting as the deterrent, cannot contain the whole, namely, life. Instinct and intellect, the two distinct modes of mental activity, reveal to us the position of matter *vis-a-vis* life. The one is the universe of the other, and the ultimate reality, *i.e.*, the *Elan Vital* (the Life-impulse), holds both within itself. But, the impulse of Life (*Elan Vital*) is a tension. It is a focus of present activity in which the duration of an actual past is held together concentrated on the action in progress. The interrupting of the tension of the Life-impulse diverts the movement to life in the inverse direction. This tension, extended by interruption under the impact of matter, is the metaphysical principle of the *vital impulse*.

Bergson holds that the ultimate reality, *i.e.*, *Elan Vital*, is something from which both mind and matter derive. It is a 'change,'a 'flow' of events, a surging of 'life,' moving incessantly to new forms. In it the whole past is telescoped in the present. Then, the Life-impulse (*Elan Vital*) involves a certain freshness and novelty in every new change, since each successive change in a sequence has a past permeating it. This activity, when relaxed, results in matter. Such a tendency has to be checked by means of intuition, which is the developed form of instinct. And for Bergson, the true nature of things is apprehended by intuition, and not by intellect. This idea, undoubtedly influenced by German philosophy, has influenced 20th-century French writers so widely as to give Bergson an importance of his own. Again, the functions of intuition and iutellect must be coordinated, in order to avoid the two extremes, mysticism and mechanism.

Coming now to a dissertation of the basic elements of Nietzsche's thought, before we proceed to bring out the essential points of divergence between the views of Iqbāl and those of Niezsche as regards the 'Ideal Man!'

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900), the 'self-absorbed' German philospher, is famous for his ideal *Nietzsche's* of *Ubermensch,* or the 'Superman' an "Ubermensch" imaginary superior human being. He proposed two contrasting philosophies of life, or personality types, the Apollonian and the Dionysian. There are, according to Nietzsche, two fundamental ethical values. One is the morality of selves, or the weak among mankind, who favour all the virtues that suit their weakness : they would fain depreciate the virtues

of the strong. The other is the morality of the strong, of the masters, who stand above the common herd. It is only by the morality of the strong that men, the masters, can rise to a higher stage, that of the *Ubermensch*.

Essentially a poet, Nietzsche never framed a systematised philosophy and did not develop a regular system of his own. At best, he represents a philosophy of brute, undisciplined force. He failed to appraise correctly his inner experiences, and therefore his own philosophical ideas and views led him astray. Nietzsche vehemently attacked pity and humanitarianism, and, on the ground that it had introduced these things into Europe, bitterly assailed Christianity. With the zeal of an inspired missionary, this German philosopher particularly expounds his cult of the 'Superman,' *i.e.*, the 'Ideal Man,' or *Ubermensch* as he would call him, which his philosophy taught so vigorously, in his important philosophical work, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, in the verse-form. Full of poetic conception and epigrammatic force as this work is, it was Nietzsche's own New Testament, propounding the gospel of the 'Superman' and the Eternal Recurrance.

Nietzsche's *Ubermensch* will be as high above the average ordinary man as the latter is above the beast. This man will be a ruthless being developed from the normal human type, uninfluenced by the usual social or political considerations and unrestrained by any religious or moral restrictions. God's scourge for mankind, this 'Superman' of Nietzsche, impelled by his lust for the economic exploitation of vanquished and less virile peoples, may eventually lead his own nation and country—from where the *Ubermench* himself may have sprung—

to brutality and barbarism, and ultimately to disaster and destruction by his very acts of aggression.

Nietzsche's philosophy is out and out the philosophy of power and dominance. Nietzsche and, after him, many other influential German thinkers, the leaders of philosopical and political thought, inspired the German people with the pride of being a privileged race happily endowed with *kultur*. Nietzsche's 'Superman' (*Ubermensch*) is to be reared amongst the German people and only from the higher classes, for Nietzsche considered the German nation *herrenvolk* (a superior people and master race) born to dominate and fitted to lead the world. And his 'Superman' has no religious considerations and knows no moral restrictions and spiritual values, he is only concerned with the question how to conquer and destroy the forces of obstruction and to surmount obstacles in his way in order to seize material power and preponderance, no matter, whatever means, fair or unfair, he may have to use to achieve his object. The group of the 'Supermen' thus created cannot but be fired by the unholy ambitions of *weltmacht* (world power), *lebensraum* (the so-called living space) and *weltherrschaft* (world domination). The World Order envisaged in this utilitarian and materialistic philosophy must be based on tyranny and injustice and exploitation of subject peoples. This 'Ideal Man' must, of necessity, embark on a course of want on aggression against smaller states and unscrupulous exploitation of weaker nations. So, the rearing of that type of the 'Ideal Man' only goes, in the long run, to jeopardize world security.

Nietzsche was a destructive genious of the first order : he had bitterly attacked the Christian ethical values which, he held,

only found favour with the weak. He fought unrelentingly against old traditions and values that die hard, eventually breaking loose from God and losing himself.

[9]مستی آو ہر زجاجے را شکست
از خدا ببرید و ہم از خود گسست

"Each and every glass was smashed by his intoxication unrestrained :

He broke away from God, and was estranged away from his own self as well."

Having himself repudiated and torn to pieces the Christian dogmatic system of ethics, conspicuous for its teaching of a life of ascetic inactivity, which was so obnoxious to a concrete and active mind such as he possessed, Neitzsche was deprived of the spritual guidance promised by Divine Revelation. So aptly does Iqbāl speak of Nietzsche's achievement, since he smashed the unbalanced and corrupted Christian ethical system :

[10]نیشتر اندر دل مغرب فشرد
دستش از خون چلیپا احمراست

"He thrust a knife into the bosom of the West :
He has his hands red with the blood of the Cross."

9. Jawed Namah (The Eternal Book).
10. Piyam-i-Mashriq.

Again, the philosopher of Islām gives a graphic description of the Western philosopher's fate, who, as a poet, was inspired with a noble vision, but as a rationalist sadly drifted and wandered, in consequence of his own reflections :

''آنکه بر طرح حرم بت خانه ساخت
قلب او مومن دماغش کافراست

"He who built up an idol-house after the pattern of *Haram* :

His heart hath faith ; his mind believeth not."

Guided by speculations of pure reason, Nietzche failed to attain to ultimate Reality and was incapable of rising above his favourite ideal of *Ubermensch* and understanding the status of God Almighty. "Thus failed a genius whose vision was solely determined by his internal forces, and remained unproductive for want of external guidance in his spiritual life," *as aptly observed by Iqbāl. Ah, such was the fate Nietzsche had to meet with !

While discussing Iqbāl's 'Ideal Man,' with whose virtues his writings, particularly his poetic compositions, are replete, one could not avid a reference to Muslim thinkers like Ibn al-'Aralī[11] Rūmī and Al-Jili, These thinkers have been mentioned in the context and their ideas dealt with briefly above. Having an enigmatical style, with an abstruse subject to treat of, Shaikh Mohy-ud-Dīn

IQBAL AND EASTERNERS

11. Piyam-i-Mashriq.

*Vide The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lecture vii).

ibn al-Arabī is by no means a writer easy to understand. In his approach to profound questions of the spirit and in his treatment of the concept of the 'Ideal Man' he displays a downright mystical and philosophical attitude of mind, as revealed in his *Al-Futūhat al-Makkīyah* and *Fusūs al-Hikam*. Iqbāl differs, in principle, with Ibn al-'Arabī. He is irreconcilably opposed to the basic thought and teaching of the great Spanish mystic, chiefly because of the pantheistic creed which was thus introduced into Islāmic Sūfism and vehemenlty propounded as the genuine Sūfī doctrine by Ibn al-'Arabī. *In his own way*, *Maulānā* Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī expounds his doctrine of the 'Ideal Man,' the 'Man of God' (*Mard-i-Khudā*), in his *Mathnawī*. Admittedly, Iqbāl regards Rūmī as his spiritual guide, and his own thought-structure was influenced by the latter's mysticism : but, as an apostle of the human Ego, he definitely disagrees with the mystic's teaching of the doctrine of Self-abandonment, since it means the abnegation of the Self. He is by no means interested in and never reconciled to the pantheistic creed of the Ṣūfī, too. *Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm al-Jīlī has dwelt on the* concept of the 'Ideal Man, 'or his, perfect Man' (*Insān al-Kāmil*),in his *Al-Insn-al-Kāmil fi Ma'rifat- il-Awākhir-wal-Awail*, in the characteristic Sūfī diction. The metaphysics of Al-Jīlī mainly rests on Pantheism, and it is pantheistic Ṣufism, in any form, which Iqbāl dislikes much and greatly abhors for reasons of his own. In tellectually, and also religiously, Iqbāl is strongly opposed to the Ṣūfī's pantheistic creed, for Pantheism would seem to work to the detriment of the Islāmic scheme of things.

While still engaged in his studies of the various phases of Sūfism and the different forms it assumed in course of time, Iqbāl had vividly grasped the grave implications and harmful

IQBAL AND PANTHEISM

ramifications of the Sūfī pantheistic philosophy. The supra-mystical doctrine first propounded and termed as *wahdat al-wajūd, i.e.*, Sūfistic Pantheism, by Ibn al-'Arabī was considered by him to be basically repugnant to the revelational spirit of Islām. With Ibn al-'Arabī Mysticsm came to the extreme and was so developed as to become almost identical with Pantheism. The doctrine found blind but zealous preachers among the later Ṣūfis, and in the long run caused considerable mischief to the body-politic of Islām.

Pantheism or Cosmotheism is the belief, both in a philosophical and a theological sense, that identifies God with the Cosmos. The mystic theory of Pantheism, which has a philoso-

WHAT IS PANTHEISM?

phical side of its own, connotes that all manifestations perceivable by the senses are only indicative of the One Supreme Being. Furthermore, it signifies that all existence tends to become one indivisible Unity, namely, God. Regading the Universe as the manfestation of the Creator, the doctrine identifies God with the Universe. Pantheism being identification of God with the Universe holds that all things, including man, the lord of creation, proceed from one all-embracing Power, the Mighty Spirit, forming an integral part of Him. The theory regards all forms of existence as a part and parcel of God, the Supreme Creator of the universe ; and the universe, a cerated unit is necessarily identified with the Omnipotent Creator Himself, so Pantheism would proceed on to affirm itself. Stretched logically, it follows that the 'Truth' is always one and the same, found equally good and sound in any religion, since the same emanates from one 'universal, allpervading Deity.'

THE ORIGIN OF PANTHEISM

A psycho-analytical study of the psychic activity of human races would reveal that the Sufistic doctrine of Pantheism has its ultimate roots in the reflective thought processess of ancient Greeks and in the speculative philosophy of Indo-Aryans. There was, amongst the Greeks, a school of thought, known as the Eleatics, with whom pantheistic ideas had been quite popular and who had developed Pantheism as the original side of philosophy. Thus, the philosophy of Parmenides the Eleatic was simply pantheism. As for Indian sources of the doctrine, the theology of India is underlaid with Pantheism, or *Advaita,* in the Vedic language. "God is One because He is All. He is the Clay as well as the Potter," is the kernel of the Vedic teaching. In the Institutes (*Dharma Shastra*) of Manu, the Hindu legist and lawgiver, the doctrine of the Divine Unity becomes more distinctly mixed up with pantheistic ideas. Both the Vedas, the Hindu scriptures, and the Institutes of Manu, a code of Hindu civil and religious law, are pantheistic for both regard the Universe as the manifestation of the Creator*. The *Upanishads*, which are the philosophical discourses, forming a distinct section of the Vedas, are especially saturated with Pantheism, and these are the foundation of the systematic Vedanta philosophy. Again, the profound allegorical poem, the *Bhagavat Gita*, Lord Krishna's Song, which sums up and puts in a nutshell Hindu religion and philosophy, forms the basis of later Hindu pantheistic speculation.

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* See The Intellectual Development of Europe by J.W. Draper (Vol. I-chapters III & IV).

Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240 A.D.), progressing in his psychical activity, had attained to a peculiar mystical experience ; but that type of mystical experience had also been had by his ascetic

IBN AL-'ARBI & SHANKAR

Indian counterpart, Shankar Acharya (d. 838 A.D.). Shankar, who flourished in the early nineth century of the Christian era, was an intellectual giant and mystic genius. As a religious reformer and a strong opponent of Buddhism, he contributed greatly to the revival of the Hindu religion, known in its new form as Puranic Hinduism. The brilliant expounder of the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavat Gita* and forceful exponent of their teachings, Shankar was the greatest philosopher of the Vedic Pantheism (So-called *Advaita* of Vedantic philosophy). A profound mystic, he was the leading representative of the pure mystic Infinity, and the gifted preacher of the pantheistic doctrine of the Aryan Vedas.

Pantheism is the spirit that pervades the Vedas, particularly their philosophical section, called Upanishada. Again, the spirit of Pantheism permeates the writings of Ibn al-'Arabī. The character of the mystical experience of both Ibn al-'Arabi and Shankar is ostensibly and avowedly pantheistic. Pantheism is the essence and the sum and substance of the philosophies of the two mystics. In the pantheistic strain does either of them propound his respective mystic teaching, pantheism forms the essential feature of their doctrine nay it constitutes creed. What a queer coincidence of the trends of thought of the two men professing different faiths and representing disparate cultures ! What a similarity of the approaches and what an affinity of the conclusions of both the pantheists : Written as well as spoken words travel far and wide, and so do the ideas conveyed therein, thus influencing a people's as well as the individual's modes of thought and habits of thinking.

During the Abbaside period, numerous works on science and philosophy from Greek, Sanskrit, and pre-Islamic Persian had been rendered in Arabic, and Ibn al-'Arabī appears to have been impressed by the pantheistic trends of the Hindu Vedanta and his own mode of thought influenced by the profound pantheism of his Indian prototype—Shankar Achārya.

Pantheistic Sūfism, was a later development in 'Islāmic Mysticism.' It developed, as already pointed out, under the influence of factors and forces foreign to Islam and hostile to its genius. Pantheistic Ṣūfism is, therefore, nothing but the completion of and an improvement upon the Hindu Vedanta. Among the successive developments in Sufism and the numerous forms assumed by it during the course of centuries was a peculiar form of pantheistic Sūfism known as *be-shar'* (*i e*, not submitting to the Law of *Sharī'ah*) which, during the third century after the Hijrah, found its culminating point in the ecstatic pantheism of Ḥusayn ibn Mansūr al-Hallāj, the celebrated Persian mystic.

A LATER DEVELOPMENT

Mansūr Al-Ḥallāj (859-922 A.D.), the martyr Muslim mystic of Persia, is universally known for his extravagant pantheistic outbursts and ecstatic experiences which had a supra-mystical character. An extremist in Sufic views and beliefs, Mansūr would often be overwhelmed by his over-mystical tendencies and ecstatic expressions that eventually cost him his life. Hallaj was so carried away by his ecstatic experience that he felt that while enjoying rapture in mystical communion with the Divine, and losing own identity in the process, he had ascended to an ecstatic union with God and attained to complete harmony with Him. His chief work

MANSUR AL-HALLAJ

creed! Whether it was done so unwittingly or deliberately on their part is of little moment. What in fact matters is that their assimilation of the doctrine—the progress was imperceptible—did incalculable and irreparable damage to Islam as the appointed and destined Faith of humanity. The mischief spread further. The Suffic pantheistic creed grew to be the very philosophy of Life with the Musim mystics, and the mystic Path of Pantheism became their real faith. The calamity going further, the sayings and teachings of the earlier devout Sufis, who had nothing to do, in any way, with the peculiar pseudo-mystical doctrine, came to be interpreted and presented in the light of the Sufi pantheistic philosophy; and with this the simple and practical teaching of Islam itself was expounded pantheistically.

In rather recent times, we are struck with the style and contents of the writings of a very eminent European philosopher that assume a well-defined pantheistic shape. The 'God-intoxicated' Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677 A. D.), famous Dutch philosopher born of Jewish parents at Amsterdam 327 years ago, was excommunicated for his audacious views and expressions against the established, conventional Hebrew doctrine. Spinoza's philosophy is a thorough going pantheism which has both a naturalistic and a mystical side. The pantheistic monism of Spinoza forms the basis of his philosophical system, and is the essence of his whole philosophy.

SPINOZA, THE PANTHEIST

Is Pantheism, then, of Greek, Indo-Aryan, or even of Jewish Spinozistic origin, or still of Christian European origin? At any rate, it is *not* Islamic in origin. The doctrine positively does not originate in the teachings of pristine Islam.

Kitāb at-Tawāsīn, while explaing the mystic's doctrine and teaching, indicates the evolution of a super-mystical genius steeped deep in ecstatic pantheism. The book has been edited by Prof. Louis Massignon, the French Orientalist, formerly of the University of Paris, who has presented his painstaking researches on Hallaj in his important study of the martyr mystic *La Passion d'al Husayn ibn-Mansūr-al-Ḥallāj* : *Martyre Mystiq-iue del' Islam*.

God, according to this great mystic, is Love, and in His Love He created man almost after His own 'image' so that man might find that 'image' within himself and attain to harmony with the Divine nature. For his claim, *ana'l haqq*, *i.e.*, 'I am the creative truth,' Hallaj was crucified at Baghdad, in A D. 922. Sufic Pantheism had been brouht to its extreme by its own logic ! The genuine Mysticism of Islam, originally based upon the pristine faith, having passed, during the course of ages, through many a development, was deformed and mutilated thoroughly.

PANTHEISM AS A CREED

Unhappily, the theory of Sufistic Pantheism, the so-called *wahdat al-wajud*, thus initiated and elaborated into a system of philosophic-mystical thought by a mystic genius like Ibn al-'Arabī, with its apparent subtlety of charm, promising escape from the rigorous Islamic Life, attracted, fascinated and finally absorbed some of the best mystical minds in Islam. It was subsequently taken up readily by Persian and Indian mystics under the popular name *hamah oost*, meaning literally 'All is He', the Persian being the equiva-alent for the Arabic original. This theory developed into a doctrine and became an article of faith with most of the Muslim mystics. They had embraced it as their cherished

Passing now to Iqbal's own critical views on the peculiar Indo-persian type of Pantheism ! The argument of this 'mystic'

IQBAL'S POSITION

thinker against the Sufi pantheistic creed, which is both of a religous and a philosophical nature, proceeds mainly along the following lines. Islam seeks to preserve, develop and fortify the personality of man, and not to weaken and annihilate it. True to the spirit of this Faith, Iqbal consistently inculcates the doctrine of the dignity of man and the greatness of the human Ego. So Jealous of it, he is determined to maintain this position at all events and at all costs, vindicating his stand both on theological and philosophical grounds. Here it may be pointed out that pantheistic Sufism, with its many forms, inherently carries with it two main offshoots. These offshoots, which from their very nature evoke Iqbal's justified intense aversion, are presently discussed, in this context, in brief.

With a religious basis for his attitude, Iqbal is utterly opposed to the Persian mystic's doctrine of Self—abandonment,

SELF-ABANDONMENT

or *bekhudi*, since, contrary to the Islamic teaching, it entails the effacement of man's individuality and is tantamount to annihilating his own independent existence as apart from God. And man, invested with powers and endowed with potentialities he had been, was created in the noblest of frames and placed upon Earth as the Vicegerent of God and meant to act therein as such ! Philosophically, Iqbal dislikes the doctrine, for it goes to negate the human Self and destroys personality. So keen is he to preserve the human Self that he would not like to have a Vision of God at the cost of the Self.

Iqbal does not share the mystic's view that the deep and intimate knowledge of God could be gained and access to Him attained only through passing from individuality. He would rather have man seek God through Self-affirmation. Iqbal has his own theory of Self-abandonment, or Selflessness, in its modified form. This theory, as modified by Iqbal, and as translated into practice, is dedication of the individual Ego to the collective Ego of the Community, in the interest of the individual as well as of the community*. Here there is a marked improvement upon the Sufi's Self-effacing doctrine of *bekhudi*, or Self-abandonment.

ASCETIC SUFISM

On just the same grounds, religious as well as philosophical, Iqbal is intensely averse to ascetic Sufism which appeared as a later development in Islam. Ascetic Ṣùfism fostered a spirit of total other-worldliness thus obscuring men's vision of a very important aspect of Islām as a social polity. "Offering the prospect of unrestrained thought on its speculative side," as pointed out by Iqbāl, "it attracted and finally absorbed the best minds in Islām."* Islām, in its own wonderful way, co-ordinates the spiritual and material aspects of man's life, embracing both its individual and social sides. Ascetic Sùfism

* The theory, with its practical aspects, is lucidly set forth by the poet in the profound philosophical poem, Rumuz-i-Bekhudi (The Mysteries of Selflessness). It deals with the collective life of the Muslim Community, as opposed to Asrar i-Khudi (Secrets of the Self); which deals with the life of the individual Muslim. The late Prof. A.J. Arberry, of the University of Cambridge, has translated this Persian work of Iqbal, along with an Introduction and brief notes.

Vide Reconstruction (Lecture VI).

thus runs counter to the teaching of Islām, which has its pronounced emphasis both on spirit and matter, equally taking into account man's inner life as well as his social environment. That is the theological side of the argument.

Philosophically speaking, the human Ego, when spiritually enriched and illumined, is not shy of its contact with matter—rather it absorbs the latter. With a view to develop, fortify and immortalize itself, the Ego has not only to spiritualise and individualise itself, but to open itself up in free and direct contact with matter and society, binding itself, at the same time, with the Ultimate, Divine Ego and with the highest, unique human Ego, namely, the Prophet, with loyalty to the collective Ego, that is, Community. Iqbāl, the philosopher, is bitterly antagonistic to ascetic Ṣūfism, since it reverses his whole system of philosophy built on the theory of the Ego and strikes at his favourite doctrine of the Self-*Khudi*.

IQBAL'S CRITICISM

To turn to Iqbāl's criticism of the doctrine of Sūfic Pantheism, familiarly known as *wahdat-al-wajud*, literally, the Unity of Existence, that is to say, 'God being All is One.' It is against the religious and philosophical background that Iqbāl adopts an uncompromising attitude towards the pantheistic creed of the Sufi, and proceeds assail furiously the pernicious Sufic doctrine of Pantheism. This theory signifies that all religions are equally true and preach just the same 'Truth' and teach the existence of the very same Deity found equally in Mosque, Church, and Temple, all the apparent differences and conflicts being superficial and created by men. Since, according to the doctrine, the Universe and all the visible and perceivable forms therein are but

manifestations of the One God, the distinction of the 'True Faith' and false creeds is invalid and absured. The doctrine, thus, in its sinister way, cuts at the superiority of the Faith of Islam over other known religious systems of the world. For, Islam, as the only True Religion, proclaims that its system alone represents the ultimate and absolute 'Truth.'

The pantheistic creed is most tempting to the mystic, for it promises freedom, by and by, from the rigorous discipline of the Law of *Shari'ah*, until the process of absorption is complete. Islam is made to lose its value as the only valid Code of Life and to forfeit its claim as the only religion to be acceptable to mankind. The Faith is robbed of its mission and its role as the humanising and unifying force in the life not only of the individuals forming the Community but in the life of nations and states. Religious observances, propagation, conversion, Resurrection, *jehād*, and other institutions and obligations are all held null and void. The Holy Prophet descends down to the status of a more guide among guides: he is no longer the only Apostolic Guide unto humanity. As a true messenger of Islām, Iqbāl would not tolerate that man, the noblest of God's creatures and His Vicegerent on Earth, should be so humbled as to be reducible to a nonentity, when brought under the spell and influence of the pseudo-mystical creed. He, therefore, finds himself strongly, nay intransigently, opposed to the disastrous doctrine of Sufic Pantheism and bitterly criticises pantheistic Sufism in all its forms. So runs the argument in its religious aspect.

As the apostle of the human Ego (*Khudi*, or the Self), just as Iqbāl would not like to have a Vision of God through Self-abandonment, he would not enjoy a glimpse of Divine

Vision through a pantheistic flight, Self-annihilation being too exorbitant a price with him to pay for such Vision. When it is God alone that exists, and none and nothing else, others having but ephemeral and illusory existence, and the external world being all illusion (*māyā*, in Hindu philosophy), man is rendered extinct, being immersed and lost in Pantheism. A strong believer in the individuality of man and so jealously keen to preserve his independent existence apart and distinct from the Infinite Ego, Iqbāl could not afford to see that man's personality was allowed to disintegrate and his prestige as man, being the roof and crown of all creation and having a position of his own in the hierarchy of existence, was shattered, with his succumbing to the mystic's pantheistic creed and his embracing of the Self-effacing doctrine of the Sufi. Such is the philosophical side of Iqbal's refutation of Sufic Pantheism.

Iqbāl condemns the pantheistic creed the more violently, when Sufistic Pantheism pretends to become the philosophy of Life and the norm by which to judge matters, and arrogates to itself the false claim to an interpretation of the simple, but rational, teachings of Islām in the light of its peculiar Self-negating teaching. The thing is abominable, for the doctrine, going as it does to the extreme, stimulates freethinking in the mystic when sober and excites in him rapture and ecstasy when absorbed.

Evidently, Iqbāl is perfectly justified in his unreserved condemnation of panthestic Sufism, be it in any form, for the doctrine of Sūfic Pantheism, when fully embraced and imbibed, tends to work unsparingly to the detriment of the original Islāmic plan of things, the *Sharī-ah*. Dead against all forms and types of Pantheism, Iqbāl, for all intents and purposes,

would have nothing to do with the Aryan Pantheism of Shankar, the ecstatic Pantheism of Mansūr, and the Ṣūfistic Pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabī, Pantheism with him being utterly anti-Islāmic in origin, spirit and purpose ;

١٢ دگر از شنکر و منصور کم گوئے
خدا را ہم براہِ خویشتن جوئے

"Speak ye no more of Shankar and Mansur ;
Seek God too by means of the Self."

ISLAMIC SUFISM

Islām in its pristine purity and erstwhile simplicity was never a system of metaphysics, nor a mystical doctrine, nor even a philosophy. The simple and practical Faith of Islām was, as it is today, the revealed perfect Code of human belief and conduct. True it is that men are frequently driven to quench their thirst for God in ecstatic experience rather than in intellectual search. They become disgusted with theology, with its niceties of dogma, and philosophy, with its dull speculative thinking, and find peace in the mystic Path—so-called *Tarīqat* of the Ṣūfī. Islām has its own 'mysticism,'

12. Zabur-i-'Ajam (The Psalms of Persia). Here Shankar and Mansur are expressly mentioned by name, Ibn al-'Arabi only coming in by implication. The two mystics may be said to be the intellectual forerunners of the Spaniard who developed the scattered pantheistic ideas into a regular Sufic system, making the Sufistic Pantheism the creed of the Sufis. As to Mansur Al-Hallaj, Iqbal seems to have developed, at a later stage, a sort of sympathy for the martyr-saint and softened his attitude towards Hallaj. This sympathy may be noticed in the *Jawed Namah* as well as in the *Lectures*.

generally known as *at-tasawwuf*, or Ṣūfism. But just as Muslim theology is essentially different from other theologies, so the so-called Mysticism of Islām is basically different from the mysticism of any other religion.

As a matter of fact, no such term as *at-tasawwuf*, as representative of 'Islāmic Mysticism,' could be traced back to the original sources of Islām, *viz. Qur'ān* and *Hadīth*. It must be admitted that in these sources, the word does not figure anywhere. Unlike mysticism in other religions, where a mystical creed grows into a regular system and becomes religion in itself, mysticism as a system of thought has got no valid or authentic basis in the original teachings of Islām. Islām lays stress on *action*, and is deadly opposed to Idealism in any form. "The *Qur'ān* is a book which emphasises 'deed' rather than 'idea'," to quote Iqbāl.* The Holy Prophet led a life of action. He did not establish any 'school of thought' like other thinkers including the mystics. So, speaking not only strictly but factually, what passes by the name of 'Islāmic Mysticism,' or Ṣūfism, is neither to be found in the Qur'ān nor in the Sunnah. Definitely, it does not exist there as a permanent creed or faith, or even as a system of mystical thought, self-contained and independent of the Islamic Faith.

Nevertheless, in the Qur'ān there is a note, albeit to a lesser degree, of mysticism, there being elements of 'vital mysticism' in the Holy Qur'ān as well as in Hadith. This should, in no way, sound strange as being a contradiction in

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* Vide Lectures (Preface).

itself. The human soul has its own yearnings, and in its thirst for God aspires to an access to the Invisible, the Divine. Islām meets this burning urge of the spirit, and recognising man's indispensable spiritual need assigns to the inner, mystical life a place in its complex organism. 'Islāmic Mysticism,' otherwise called Ṣūfism, in the true Islāmic perspective, therefore, constitutes only an aspect of Islam, a mere feature, so to say, having a place only in its system, and nothing more. That is why there are verses in the Holy Book and also there are extant Apostolic Traditions of a mystical import pointing to a 'life' on a higher spiritual plane. It should, however, be noted that these elements of 'vital mysticism' in Islām, and this aspect or feature, are rather of concrete nature, not out and out mystical so as to be abstract. This is because of the fact that Qur'ān takes a concrete view of the spirit, as opposed to the Greek thought which regarded the ultimate reality to be abstract. Going beyond that well-defined limit is simply going against the real spirit and purpose of Islām !

Ṣūfism is based upon mystical experience and observation, together with the mystic knowledge of God, or the *gnosis* (*ma'rifat*, in the Ṣūfī context), and a spirit of mystical devotion to God. True Ṣūfism, in its simple and pure form, as indicated above, has its traces in the Qur'ān and Sunnah, though not found therein specifically or even verbally as such. Sufism is symbolic of the effort of the spirit, ceaselessly struggling for a higher state, and constantly striving to attain to heightened self-consciousness and to a happy access to the Divine ; and this is not a matter of passive reception but an active process involving the highest qualities of the mind and the spirit. Healthy Ṣūfism enhances the sense of security and brings mental peace

and tranquillity, besides elevating the mind, purifying the heart and ennobling the soul.

On the authority of a most authentic Tradition of the Prophet it is rightly affirmed that genuine Sufism is originally established on 'sincerity in action,' as expressed by the descriptive term *iḥsān*, in the *ḥadīth*. The Tradition records an instructive dialogue between the Holy Prophet and the Archangel Gabriel appearing in human form in public and putting the Apostle of God certain questions concerning the Faith.

The word ***iḥsān*** used there is significant and pregnant of meaning. Its deep, spiritual purport could best be explained in the Prophet's own words. Answering Gabriel's question about *iḥsān*, *i.e.*, 'sincerity in action,' the Master observed :

ان تعبد الله كانك تراه ـ فان
لم تكن تراه فانه يراك ـ

"(It is) to worship God as if thou saw Him ; for if thou dost not see Him, behold, He seeth thee."

Now, in Islām every act is an act of worship provided it were undertaken in right sincere faith, with a view to earning God's good Pleasure alone. This earning of Divine Pleasure in each and every act performed by a Faithful is the spirit and ultimate aim and the basis of Islāmic Ṣūfism. Of this Divine Pleasure men have been told explicitely by no less a person than the Last Prophet himself ; and the Commandments of the religion are all meant only to point to the *way* to the Supreme Pleasure of Allāh, the One Almighty, the Unimaginable :

Kitab al-Jami' as-Sahih : Part 1, Kitab al-Iman.

۱۳ "مصطفیٰ ؐ داد از رضائے اُو خبر
نیست در احکامِ دین چیزے دگر

"Musṭafā did inform mankind of the good Pleasure of 'His';

Naught else but that is carried by the Injunctions of the Faith."

It may be stressed that the earlier Sūfis, having the excellent life-example of Mustafā (on whom be peace and blessings) before them, faithfully observed the Sunnah in their profession and practices. The really great and genuine mystics of Islam combined mystical intuition with a firmer grasp of theology. They explained the mystic's faith and showed that Sūfism as a cult was in consonance with the dictates of *Shari'ah* and true to the demands of *Sunnah*, conforming to orthodox faith and practice, both in form and spirit.

It was this peculiar combination of mystical intuition and thoeological perception—so characteristic a feature of the early Muslim mystics—which produced strong spiritual personalities of a marvellously high intellectual calibre and moral stature in Islām at different periods of its history. Their minds and souls profusely illumined with true religious consciousness, and deeply inspired by an intense living faith in Islām, those pure-hearted men, the saintly people, supremely succeeded in striking a balance between the Sufi mystic Path, the *Tarīqat*, and the Muslim Canonic Law, the *Sharī'ah*. Indeed, for them the

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13. *Pas Child Bayad Kard Aqwam-i-Sharq* (What then must be done, O, Nations of the East) ?

so-called *Tarīqat* did not but amount to a view of the *Sharī'at* thus obtained from the very depths of Life. The note, in all its sweetness of beauty, is struck in a fine couplet by Iqbāl the mystic :

[14] پس طریقت چیست اے والا صفات
شرع را دیدن بہ اعماق حیات

"What, then, maketh the Mystic Path (*Tarīqat*), o man of virtues ?

It is but viewing the *Sharī'ah* from Life's deeper depths."

THE DECAY OF ṢUFISM

Far deviated from its fountain-head and incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience, Ṣūfism has become a dead force. A spent force, it has long ceased to exist as a vital inspiring power. "The technique of medieval mysticism by which religous life, in its higher manifestations, developed itself both in the East and the West has now practically failed," *as acutely observed by Iqbal. It has definitely done good to man, but has done decidedly more havoc to mankind.

MAN'S DEGRADATION

For all the sorry failure of medieval Mysticism, neither Materialism nor any other modern 'ism could surely be a remedy for the ills of the modern man. The world we are living in today is torn by conflicts between man and man and between nation and nation—born of

14. *Pas Child Bayad, Kard Aye Aqwam-i-Shorq ?*
 Vide Reconstrution (Lecture VII).

individuals' self-interest, racial discrimination, national selfishness, and economic greed. Mutual distrust and suspicion of motives are robbing men of all peace and tranquillity and giving them only unrest and insecurity in return. Man, designed as the roof and crown of all creation and placed on a pedestal higher than that of the celestial beings, is today left much the poorer morally and spiritually.

It is an irrevocable verdict of Nature that when individuals and nations lose sight of moral and spiritual values and their moral fibre is undermined, they fall into the abyss of decay and degradation. Higher moral and human values are reversed today, and Vice having taken the place of Virtue is passing as Good instead of Evil. On the moral level, the present-day man is reduced to a beastly creature, a civilized brute. In the gloomy prospects as the shape of things presents today, where lies the hope of the despairing humanity?

Man has got to be morally and spiritually re-armed and equipped with weapons of moral and spiritual strength, in order to be able to fight and suppress the forces of Evil and Wrong.

THE REVIVAL

Modern science, with all its amazing marvels and achievements, must evolve its own ethics so as to check its destructive tendencies and to control its horrible potentialities. It should ensure a re-birth of the modern man in the moral and spiritual sense, thereby practically harnessing all human energy and

activity in the scientific field to the constructive service of mankind at large. The crying need of humanity at present is a spiritual and moral revolution and the continuous maintenance of such a revolution. This revolution necessarily involves a progressive revival of the religious conscience of the modern man, and the potent factor of religious consciousness thus reawakened in man eventually goes to make that revolution truly radical and lasting. Man today stands badly in need of being regenerated morally and spiritually, so that he should be in the enviable position to justify his claim as the noblest of God's creatures and vindicate his title as the lord of creation, and be worthy of his high office as God's Vicar upon Earth. A reorientation of moral, spiritual and human values should appreciably facilitate, and even accelerate, the process of the moral and spiritual regeneration of the modern man.

If it were ever destined to revive itself as an inspiring spiritual force, Sūfism should, of necessity, be restored to its pristine purity and purged of all cobwebs woven around it during all these periods of our decadence. If it has, at all, to re-assume its role as a potential spiritual power contributive to shaping of the spiritual Life of the individual and the community, Sūfism must be made strictly subservient to the Islamic *Sharī'ah*. Having Divine Revelation for its source and the Prophetic Inspiration as its basis, the *Sharī'ah* is all-comprehending as arising from the very core of Life. The Mystic Path, the so-called *Tarīqat*, which is but the practical manifestation of Sufism as representing the higher, inner Life of man, has got to be radically illumined with the light of the *Sharī'at*, in order to be safe, sure and productive.

So, brought back to its original stage and restored to its rightful place, Sufism should nourish itself afresh with the Life-stimulating principles of Islam. While catering to the needs and responding to the problems of the modern mind, with its peculiar concrete thinking, it should necessarily be receiving fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience. Sufism, thus revived as a living spiritual force and rendered capable of re-assessing the intrinsic worth of moral and human values, could certainly bring true peace and security and real progress and happiness the world has long dreamed of and the soul of humanity has so restlessly yearned for.

Developing itself anew as a symbol of the movement of the spirit, symbolizing man's inner urge for a life that transcends the confines of Time and Space, Sufism could bring the modern man the peculiar thrill of delight which is denied to him and give him the burning spiritual faith he does not possess. Growing once again to be a vital humanising force, Sufism would rise to rekindle the fire of nobler ambition in the individual, and keep ablaze the flame of higher striving in the socio-cultural life of the nation. It should, then, with its socialising character, be rendering man capable of the special type of inner experience on which religious faith ultimately rests and which goes to determine the religious attitude and moral status of man and influence his evaluation of human values, social concepts and cultural norms. This is Sufism of the type that is Life-absorbing and Life-giving and Fact-perceiving and Fact-inculcating.

Turning to the mystic experience of the early mystics of Islām!

True, quite often the Muslim mystics had a passion for losing themselves in the Infinity of the Godhead, and in their preoccupation with the mystical Love of God did not bother as to whether or not personality survived in the ultimate union with God. They sought to lose themselves in the Love. This was nothing but devotional Sufism, inspiring its devotees with a mystical Love for God. Anyhow. The mystic experience of the early Sufis, though often of an ecstatic nature, was purely a private matter with them. It was not taken by them as a doctrine, or even made into an article of the creed, still less propounded as the faith. When it leaves individual existence unimpaired, so that human personality remains intact, the harmony with the world soul, that is, the Supreme God, is the utmost imaginable bliss for mankind Iqbal, the mystic, is only anxious to retain the human personality, and with that reservation a mystical union with God is indeed an ideal worth striving for, and surely an objective worthy of attainment.

In process of time, mystic elements from other religions were introduced into the genuine 'Islāmic Mysticism', eventually resulting in developments as Self-abandonment, adopted as the

THE DEVIATION

mystic's doctrine, ascetic Sūfism, pantheistic Sūfism and its many forms, and, lasty, ecstatic Pantheism established as the creed of the Sūfī. Thus, under the ominious influence of non-Islāmic mystical creeds, were established the mystics' peculiar schools of mystic thought, encouraging psychic activity and promising spiritual illumination and expansion—the

various specific systems of Sufi technique It was then that emphasis was laid on the distinction of *zāhir* and *bātin* (Appea rance and Reality) in matters of religion by the Sūfis. Islām came to be divided into two different departments, and two divergent attitudes of mind were developed in regard to the interpretation given to the teachings of Islām. This sinister bifurcating emphasis creat-ed, on the part of mystics, an attitude of indifference to all that applies to Appearance and not to Reality. Thus were the Injunctions of the the Faith conveniently ignored !

All this was superfluous—non-Arab and non-Islāmic (*'Ajamī*)—accretion thus attached to the body of Islām, causing tremendous mischief and doing irreparable damage to its body-politic. There was, on the face of it, little harm if the mystical and ecstatic experiences of the Sufis were taken as mere personal experiences and private matters with the mystics, and the developments in Sūfism treated as only passing phases in the inner life of the mystic. It was calamatous for Islām in particular and ruinous to mankind in general that those experiences and phases came to assert themselves as permanent phenomena, and were consequently imbibed and propounded as the basic doctrines of Sūfism, finally sticking fast as fundamental of the mystic's faith. Complete had been the deviation :

The development of pantheistic ideas in Sufism was intensely resented and even fought tooth and nail by the far-sighted among the Muslim mystics who were at the same time theologians and divines of considerable eminence. The *'Ulamā'*, on their part, were unanimous in raising vigorous protests against these anti-Islāmic tendencies and their exhibitions as persistently

displayed by the short-sighted Sūfis. It must be pointed out that the more eminent of the Muslim mystics, who flourished during the earlier periods of Islām, being ever jealous of the frontiers of the Faith, had nothing, in any way, to do with Pantheism. It was so foreign to the spirit of Islam and so repulsive to its genius! Then, there were quite a number of fairly sensible and sober-minded Muslim mystics in far later times who were never favourable to the erroneous Sufistic doctrine of Pantheism but strongly opposed to it, regarding the Sūfi's pantheistic creed as heresy and its language as blasphemy.

The thought and culture of ancient Greece, and of Aryan India and Māgī Persia, were classical, static and speculative: the spirit of Muslim thought and culture has been predominantly anti-classical, dynamic and inspirational. It appears, even transpires, that alien ideologies bitterly hostile to the Islāmic Ideology formed themselves into a league and joined in an unholy alliance with the object of concocting a plot against the historic mission and role of Islām, in their bid to dim the light of its Message by intrigues. In its fantasies, in the higher flights of fancy and deeper fits of ecstasy, unrestrained and unfettered, the non-Arab mind, particularly the Persian, crossed all limits and transgressed all boundaries. Apparently, it would not bear the restrictions and limitations thus imposed by Islām on the mind's thinking process—restrictions and limitations that aim at checking and defining the freedom of human thought:

[15] فکرِ او گرچہ از گردوں گذشت
از حدِ دینِ نبیؑ بیروں گذشت

15. *Asrar-i-Khudi.*

"Though its (Persia's) thought has the heavens surpassed ;

It equally transgresses the boundaries of the Prophet's Faith."

It is to be noted that as speculative philosophy drives men to idle and unproductive Idealism, so lifeless Mysticism and, for that matter, enervating Sūfism, with its utter lack of living contact with the stark realities and stern facts of Life, as well as Sufistic Pantheism and its forms involving the cessation of individual existence, only lead to Idealism of one kind or the other. Thus, Sufic Pantheism has not the distant relationship with the original teachings of Islam, and is but the product of Indo-Persian philosophical speculation and mystical absorption.

After this seeming digression which the reader should find excusable, we revert to the proper theme. The conception of the 'Ideal Man,' as held by some of the great Muslim mystical technicalities and abstruse interpretations that an average man would hardly find it of much help. The ideal thus presented by them is more of a theory than a practical proposition. It is too idealistic, and apparently too hard of realizing in actual practice. Besides, though Vision is there, power is lacking. The whole thing being with them but onesided, stress is laid on the spiritual aspect of the 'Ideal Man's personality, to the prejudice of his temporal power. But, for Iqbāl power is equally important with

Vision. He invests his 'Ideal Man' with both Vision and Power, for with him Power without Vision tends to destruction, and Vision bereft of Power is simple fancy, with no glow of Life. In the words of Iqbāl, "Vision without power does bring moral elevation but cannot give a lasting culture. Power without vision tends to become destructive and inhuman. Both must combine for the spiritual expansion of humanity "*

In his works, Iqbāl interprets in his own way the Sūfī doctrine of the *Insān al-Kāmil*, or the 'Perfect Man,' which teaches that every man is potentially a microcosm, and that when he has become spiritually perfect all the Divine Attributes are displayed by him, so that as saint he is the God-man, the Vicegerent of God upon Earth. Iqbāl's views of the 'Ideal Man,' or the 'Man of Faith' (*Mo'min*), are, therefore, essentially different from those held by his Muslim predecessors, and this divergence is remarkable. It is thus evident that the mystics' conception of the 'Man' derives from Pantheism and Self-abnegation, whereas Iqbāl's conception is inspired by Self-affirmation and a constructive view of the Islāmic Sharīat.

Here, it should be pointed out that the teachings of these Mulism mystics do not always coincide with the meaning and purpose of genuine Islām. The theories as developed by them in their works have justly met with due opposition from the sober and responsible '*Ulamā*,' definitely because

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* *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (*Lecture III*).

of their clear departure from the established orthodox Islamic views, beliefs and practices.

IQBAL AND WESTERNERS

A mention of some of the Western thinkers, like Carlyle and Bergson, and Nietzsche too, has already been made in connexion with the 'Ideal Man,' the one portraying the 'Man' as a 'Hero, in his *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, the other speaking of 'him,' rather abstractly, as the 'Life-impulse' (*Elan Vital*), in his *L' evolution Creatrice*. No doubt, the Holy Prophet is hailed as a 'Hero' by the British thinker, but the Prophet is *the* Hero, not a Hero, *the* Ideal Man, not an Ideal Man and hence *the* guide unto mankind, not a guide among guides. The French thinker, to whom Iqbal is undoubtedly indebted in his metaphysical speculations, presents a rather abstruse treatmtnt of the *Elan Vital*, the Life-impulse that might well be construed and symbolized as the very 'Ideal Man.' Then, his thought seems to stagger between the two seemingly opposed forces, spirit, or the higher mind, and matter. One could perceive therein something of the lurking dualism, a characteristic feature of the Western way of thinking.

Iqbāl's approach to Life and its problems, and for that matter to the 'Ideal Man,' is radically different from that of the mystic or the philosopher, be he the Muslim or the Christian, or even the Jew. In him spirit and matter are no longer two conflicting forces; both are united in one harmonious whole. The 'Ideal Man' is invested with genuine sublime power by this thinker. for the 'Man' gracefully combines in his personality both the spiritual and temporal aspects of Power.

In consequence of the Westerners' peculiar outlook on Life and things, even in the case of the intellectually far advanced European thinkers, who otherwise have fairly risen above the ignoble racial instincts, the conflict of spirit and matter remains unresolved. But, these philosophers do not constitute an independent community in themselves : they are but representatives of the nations they belong to, and cannot possibly be expected to think and work beyond the interests of their respective national cultures. Such an attitude of the mind must foster germs of aggressive nationalism. Consequently, the civilised nations of modern Europe are led to overassert themselves and claim for themselves the right of domination over the 'barbarian' Oriental peoples. Here is a legacy of the remote Roman past, and an excuse is furnished to the imperialist Western Powers for exploiting and monopolising the natural and national resources of Afro-Asian countries.

A host of European thinkers and philosophers were prompted only to provide the essential philosophical foundations of Western Materialism, their concepts and philosophies being thoroughly materialistic, avowedly utilitarian and manifestly atheistic Thus, with the development of a materialistic and utilitarian conception of life by modern West, ushered in by the dawn of a mechanical era, ruthless aggressiveness was attached to the philosophers' 'Ideal Man.' He was divested of all human softness. The ideal of the 'Man' degenerated into an instrument of exploitation as home and of destruction abroad. The climax to this progress in the West, towards channels so fatal to the higher interests of humanity, might be witnessed in its veiled form in modern Soviet Russia, and more nakedly, in primitive shape, in other big European States mostly dominated

by economic considerations.

In the East when decadence and torpor overtook it, the vision of the degenerate mystic mystified the concept of the 'Ideal Man,' turning him into an imbecile and impotent creature, utterly incapable of asserting himself. One might watch in dismay the anticlimax in the East, where the nations lie humbled and humiliated before the virile and dominant races of the West.

Iqbāl wisely carves a pathway between the two extremes. He is not enamoured of the outward glamour and material power of the West, nor is he impressed by the lifeless, superficial attractions of the East. He critises both East and West. But now we have come down to the German philosopher, Nietzsche, in whom the 'Ideal Man' having been invested with blind force sets out to wreak unsparing havoc, being truly representative of the dominating man of the present-day materialist Europe.

NIETZSCHE

Iqbāl's relationship with Nietzsche has often been discussed, and a mention of this German philosopher, while discussing the philosopher of the East's affinities with Western thought, revives the old theme of Iqbāl having been influenced by Nietzche's philosphy. There is nothing disgraceful in acknowledging one's debt to any particular person or school of thought, but there is surely no point in admitting an incorrect attribution. Here it may be stated that Nietzsche the philososopher was not the creator of a great system. The one outstanding idea in his philosophy, which is the basic principle of his entire thought, evidently consists in his peculiar cult of the 'Ideal Man,' styled

the *Ubermensch*, or the 'Superman.' Whether the 'Superman' (*Ubermensch*) of Nietzsche is much the same as the 'Perfect Man' (Mo'min) of Iqbāl, with a few obvious differences, is open to grave doubts.

A thoughtful, intelligent student of Iqbal must appreciate that so far as Nietzsche's ideal of the 'Superman' is concerned, this idea is in no way foreign to the history of Muslim thought. Iqbāl drew his higher inspiration from the original Islāmic traditions, and was inspired by some of the more distinguished Muslim thinkers. The concept of his own 'Ideal Man' as Iqbal himself has more than once mentioned, had been inspired by the Muslim saint Shaikh Ibn al 'Arabī's 'ideally Perfect Man,' the Muslim mystic poet Maulānā Rūmī's 'Godly Man,' and the Muslim divine Shaikh Al-Jīlī's 'Perfect Man,' rather than that he had been fascinated by Nietzsche's purely secular ideal of the 'Superman.'

Coming to Nietzsche's influence on Iqbāl, in so far as the former's ideal of *Ubermensch*, or the 'Superman.' is concerned ! Iqbāl's partial affinity with Nietzsche's thought is there, for he shares the latter's philosophy of Power, and because with him, too, constant striving constitutes the essence of Life. In Nietzsche's system of thought, whatever it is, Power is, however, not subservient to Divine Law. So that we discover a 'madman' in China shop, smashing everything and sparing nothing. The German would assail and destroy lifeless values, but would not reconstruct :

[16]دیوانہ بہ کارگہ شیشہ گر رسید

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16. *Piyam-i-Mashriq.*

"'The 'madman' got into the workshop of the glass blower!"

Recklessly smashing the glassware in his way, Nietzsche is the 'madman in the European China shop,' as Iqbāl would call this German philorapher. It is significant that, in the hemistich quoted above, Nietzsche should have been referred to as the 'madman.' It may be said that the remark carries with it no element of depreciation, since the German is accorded the recognition he merits as a thinker and philosoher. The significance of the sense conveyed by the appellation given to Nietzsche is, no doubt, two-fold : it is at once literal and figurative. A study of Nietzsche's life and his work would reveal its true signification. It is interesting to notice that, while being guided by Rūmī in his allegorical journeys through heavens, Iqbāl gets to a celestial sphere where he meets the German philosopher. It is then that he is spoken of as the 'madman,' when the Disciple poses an enquiry addressed to the Mystic ; the philosopher being, then, referred to, in the same strain, as the 'wise man':

[17] من به رومی گفتم این دیوانه کیست

گفت "این فرزانهٔ المانوی ست"

"Who is this madman? asked I of Rùmī : 'This is indeed the wise man of Germany,' said he."

There, Nietzsche is again hailed as the 'self-absorbed soul' (*majdhūb*) and called a 'man insane' (*majnūn*), as the man is popularly held to be.

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17. *Jawed Namah.*

In his classical work, entitled *Jawed Namah*, in the Section bearing the sub-title *Àan sui Aflak* (Yonder Toward Heavens), which coincidentally opens with the momentous meeting with Nietzsche, Iqbāl makes a masterly appraisal of the thought, the achievement and status of the German philosopher : the illuminating sketch is worth a dispassionate study by a keen student of Nietzsche. Here, it may be pointed out that while still a young man, Nietzsche, having suffered most violent moral up-heavals, exhibited symptoms of insanity. He produced during a single decade, from 1879, most of his philosophical writings, until he became insane, in 1889. The sad fact, more than anything else, accounts for the apparent lack of reasoned coherence in his thought. Then, thanks to his peculiar mental set-up, his thinking is marked by absence of due proportion, and his philosophical concepts and ethical views, sadly enough, suffer from lack of robust sanity. Inevitably, in his philosophy Power is deified' and it is Power unrestrained.

Thus, power, undisciplined as it is, is there in the Neitzschian system, but Vision is conspicuously lacking. Consequently, havoc is wrought by the 'Superman,' because of the essentially unbalanced views of the philosopher. This destructive tendency of making material power into a cult, to the exclusion of all softer human values, demonstrates itself in Nietzsche's great work *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, and is manifested forcefully in another of his works, *Die Wille zur Macht*. Curiously enough, yet significantly, Nietzsche was branded in many countries, including Germany, as misanthrop, madman, promotor of wars, and even infidel, for his anti-Christian attitude.

Iqbāl's superficial similarity to Nietzsche has led many a critic of his to hold the view that he was influenced by the German philosopher. It may be asserted that they are not quite fair to Iqbāl, the philosopher. Whereas Power is all that matters with Nietzsche, with Iqbāl Beauty is a unity of Power and Vision, and this, according to him, would ensure the collective good. Having condemned outright the Christian ethics, Nietzche himself is denied the spiritual guidance, only to find himself being guided by mere juggleries of the intellect. Iqbāl is more fortunate in that he enjoys advantages of head and heart, soul and Revelation. Further, Nietzsche's concept of the 'Ideal Man,' or his *Ubermensch* ('Superman'), is ultra-national, and therein lies the mischief. Iqbāl's 'Ideal Man,' or his *Mo'min* ('Man of Faith'), on the other hand, is a universal figure, a world-citizen, with his sympathies and loyalties not confined to the *Vaterland*, but extending to the entire humanity.

Iqbal, perhaps, is the most misunderstood poet in modern times. Many of his critics, mostly Western, have charged that Iqbāl derived his philosophical ideas, including those concerning the 'Ideal Man,' mainly from Neitzsche. In fact, one prominent English Orientalist has even asserted that "Iqbāl's doctrines are in the main an Oriental adaptation of Nietzsche's philosophy."[1] Again, some of the critics have gone so far as to identify Iqbāl's ideal society of superior individuals with Nietzsche's aristocracy of Superman. This misconception is swept away by Iqbāl, in his revealing article

1. Prof Edward G. Browne : *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*. The *New Era*, 1916. *Vide Islam Versus The West* (ch. ix), by Maryam Jameela.

entitled "Muslim Democracy," which he contributed to a learned journal, as early as in 1916. The relevant passage from this article may appropriately be quoted here.

> "Nietzsche abhors the democratic rule by the herd of hopeless plebians and bases all higher culture on the cultivation of an aristocracy of Supermen. But is the plebian so absolutely hopeless ? The democracy of Islām did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity ; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that in every human being is a centre for potential power for good, the possi bilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. From the poorest, simplest, common people Islām has shaped individuals leading the noblest kind of life. Is not then the democracy of Islām a tangible refutation of Nietzsche's ideas ?"

So, it is clear that the 'Superman' (*Ubermensch*) of Nietzsche and Iqbāl's 'Perfect Man' (*Mo'min*) are not akin to each other, but absolutcly different in points of inte[lect, character, ideals, and functions. It is Nietzsche, and not Iqbāl, who would have been obliged to learn from thc latter about the ideal of the 'Superman' and revlse his view and nations on this controversial philosophical proposition. As a matter of fact, the following verses are enough to indicate the attitude of Iqbāl towards the Germrn philosopher :

[18] اگر ہوتا وہ مجزوبِ فرنگی اس زمانے میں
تو اقبال اس کو سمجھاتا مقامِ کبریا کیا ہے

"Had that European 'madman' lived in these days :

Iqbāl would have explained to him the status of God."

And :

[19] کاش بودے در زمانِ احمدؒ ے
تا رسیدے بر سرور سرمدے

"Only had he been alive in the days of Ahmad !

He would have attained to eternal felicity."

IQBAL'S "MO'MIN"

Turning to Iqbāl's 'Ideal Man,' or the 'Man of Faith' (*Mo'min*), we have the thinker's own views concerning the concept which reveal an approach basically divergent from that of any other thinker concerned with it in any way. In fact, the main source of Iqbāl's inspiration was the original teaching of Islām. He was

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18. *Bal-i-Jibril.* (Wings of Gabriel). The word 'madman' for the term *majdhub* (a 'self-absorbed soul'), used in reference to Nietzsche in the verse, does not exactly convey the idea implied in the original. Truly, this term, as employed in Sufi context as indicative of a peculiar mental state characterised by excessive inner assimilation, technically called *jadhab* is so impossible of rendering in English. It signifies a perverse mystic, who, having progressed in his psychospiritual activity in the inverse direction, is inclined more to insanity than to sobriety—a 'self-absorbed person,' all lost. The significant appellation is appropriately given to Nietzsche, who is aptly spoken of elsewhere by Iqbal as the 'madman' (*diwanah*), or the 'man insane' (*majnun*), and even as the 'wise man' (*farzandh*) [v. *Piyam-i-Mashriq* and *Jadew Namah*].

19. *Jawed Namah.* Ahmad, thus alluded to in the couplet, is Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind (1564-1624). The great religious genuis of the seventeenth century, Shaikh Ahmad better known as *Imam-i-Rabbani Mujaddid Alf-Thani* flourished during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir 1605-1627). The originator of a distinctive system of Sufi technique, the Shaikh's famous *Maktubat*, the epistles addressed to his disciples, reveal the Mujaddid's characteristic clarity of mystical vision, and have an exceptionally high place in higher Islamic Sufi literature.

essentially inspired by the superb Islamic conception of the 'Perfect Man,' which idea is inculcated in the Qur'ān and diffused throughout the Scripture. The dignity of the 'Man' as *Mo'min* (a convinced Believer) is vividly brought out and his chief qualities are illustrated at various places in the Holy Qur'ān. The intelligent reader finds it scattered over the pages of the Holy Book and in the Apostolic Traditions.

There is an important aspect which calls for serious reflection, a feature that distinguishes Iqbāl as thinker from all other great thinkers of the world. Himself a poet and philosopher of great eminence, Iqbāl always turns to Divine Revelation for illumination, and his philosophical views and concepts have as their unmistakable guiding principle the Final Revelation of God itself.

Iqbāl's 'Ideal Man' is a truly religious man, the 'Man of Faith' (*Mo'min*), to whom his religion is all in all. This 'Perfect Man' has a moral and spiritual status of his own : his mental attitude is shaped by his faithfully following the revealed Divine Laws, and his course of action is determined by his unreserved surrender of himself to the guidance of religion. Happily, the 'Ideal Man' of this variety may arise from any class of people, high or low, and from any community, and in any country. The World Order envisaged in Iqbāl's philosophy is the only workable and stable Order, based on even justice, equality, liberty and fairness for all peoples.

In short, Iqbāl's status among the world's thinkers is conspicuous for his mystical intuition, philosophic perception, poetic insight, religious vision, and life-penetration. Consequently, Iqbāl's position in regard to the 'Ideal Man' represents a happy contrast with that of the Orientals, on the one hand,

with their exclusive stress on the spiritual, and of the Occidentals, on the other, with their outright emphasis on the temporal. Iqbāl's view, therefore, is the golden mean between the two extremes. With him the 'Ideal Man' is at once possessed of disciplined Power and penetrating Vision.

Rejecting all other types of the 'Ideal Man,' propounded by other great thinkers, Iqbāl would only think and speak of the Holy Prophet as the 'Ideal Man.' No doubt, in his poetical strain he would extol the glory of his own 'Ideal Man,' the 'Man of Faith,' or *Mo'min*. Zealous to see the Millat as vigorous as in the days of yore, he exhorts the Muslims to follow in the footsteps of the 'unique Ideal Man' (who is doubtless the Last Prophet himself), and thereby turn themselves into miniature 'Ideal Men,' as guides for humanity. Further, Iqbāl admires and holds up a number of brilliant heroes of the earliest Muslim history as the 'Ideal Men,' whose spirits the present-day Muslims must imbibe and whose examples they must emulate. Thus, Iqbāl would visualise his ideal society of superior individuals who would act and serve as God's Vicegerents on Earth.

To conclude, Iqbāl's 'Ideal Man,' *Mo'min*, is poles apart from other types of the 'Ideal Man,' in all points and in all respects, as conceived and represented by some of the world's distinguished mystics and philosophers. He is an unending source of inspiration and a blessing to humanity, being gifted with Vision and at the same time possessed of Power. He would bestow power and courage upon the helpless mortals, who would muster strength to defy authority.

[20] پشّہ را تمکینِ شہبازے دہد
بے پَراں را ذوقِ پروازے دہد

"He bestows the power of the Falcon upon the Gnat :

He gives the passion for flight to the unwinged."

The 'Man' brings unwavering conviction to the sceptic's soul, and, surrendering himself to Divine Commandments, he would shake the Earth to its very foundations by prostrating himself in all humbleness before the Almighty :

[21] آنکہ بخشد بے یقیناں را یقیں
آنکہ لرزد از سجودِ او زمیں

"He it is who confers conviction sure on the doubting souls ;

Through his prostration does shake and quake the Earth entire."

Inflexible determination and active resignation to the Divine Will constitute some of the outstanding traits of his delightful character, in the absence of which the 'Man' is left worse off than a disbelieving Infidel :

[22] مُومن از عزم و توکل قاہر است
گر ندارد ایں دو جوہر کافر است

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20 & 21. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq !*

22. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq !* The above named verse, No. 22, it would seem, is inspired from the Quran-verse 159, sec. 17, *surah* iii, part IV, where, widely speaking, the Believer is called upon to put his implicit trust in God, when he has taken a firm decision.

> "The Believer (*Mo'min*) is supreme, since he is firmly resolved and actively resigned :
>
> Bereft of these merits twin, he is degraded to the Infidel's rank."

Although raised from dust, the Man is happily possessed of graceful traits and endowed with angelic potentialities. With his assimilation of Divine Attributes, he comes to develop an attitude of dignified indifference to this world as well as the next world.

[23] خاکی و نوری نہاد بندہ مولا صفات
ہر دو جہاں سے غنی اس کا دل بے نیاز

> "Reared from clay and angelic in nature, the Servant with the Lord's Attributes is imbued :
>
> In its proud indifference, his heart takes but little notice of both worlds."

The Perfect Man, *i.e.*, the 'Man of Faith,' after Iqbal's conception, is the source of liveliness for society, and his graceful company brings life and bliss to human beings. When engaged in conversation, he is delightfully entertaining and agreeably gentle in deportment. When given over to high endeavours and noble pursuits, he is most hardy and dashing, demonstrating the utmost imaginable zeal and energy. Both as a tough combatant, fighting recklessly in an armed encounter, and as an active participant in a peaceful assembly, enhancing its tranquil pleasantness with his inspiring presence, he is invariably found to be amiably disposed, so noble of mind and so noble in conduct.

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23. *Bal-i-Jibril.*

[24]نرم دمِ گفتگو، گرم دمِ جستجو
رزم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاکباز

"While conversing, he is so gentle ; and most hard he turns when in serious quest :

Be it War or Peace, he is ever pure of heart and pure in behaviour."

Again, Iqbāl's 'Ideal Man' *i.e.*, the 'Perfect Man,' assimilates and imbues himself with Divine Attributes,* thus cultivating the highest virtues of the head and the heart. He possesses, in abundant measure, both awe-inspiring virtues and love-arousing qualities. The 'Perfect Man,' *Mo'min*, submits unreservedly to Divine Laws, ever seeking, by his devotion and humility, Grace from the Lord and His Approval. He is a Mercy of God, and his gentle nature endears him to all. He is strong against the defiant Infidels, while fighting against the forces of Evil and Wrong, but merciful to his own fellow-brothers. The 'Man' is peacefully disposed, being kindly and generous to his brethren in faith, and just and considerate even to Unbelievers in peace as well as in triumph. In time of peace he is mild and gentle : in war, in the struggle against Evil, he is hard as steel :

[25]ہو حلقۂ یاراں تو بریشم کی طرح نرم
رزمِ حق و باطل ہو تو فولاد ہے مومن !

"He would feel soft just as silk, should he be in the midst of friends' assemblege :

The Believer (*Mo'min*) shall turn hard as steel, should it come to a clash of Right and Wrong."

24. *Bal-Jibril.*

*This refers to a well-known Tradition of the Prophet, saying, "Imbue yourselves with the Attributes of Allah"—*takhallaqu bi akhlaqillah.*

25. *Zarb-i-Kalim.*

The 'Ideal Man' is meek and humble before God, but he would yield to none else : he would keep his power and pomp intact. As a devotee of God, he would wage unceasing war against Evil, for himself, and for others. And, to his own brethren in faith—especially the weaker ones—he is mild and compassionate, ever seeking to sympathise with them and help them. He is now the dew-drop that brings life's freshness to the tulip's heart, and then just an irresistible tempest, violent enough to overwhelm and engulf a mighty ocean.

[26] جس سے جگر لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبنم !
دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں وہ طوفان !

"He is the Dew, causing pleasant cool to the bosom of the Tulip :

Then, he is the raging Tempest, striking terror to the hearts of the Seas."

Finally, the 'Ideal Man,' or the 'Man of Faith,' having attached no exaggerated value and significance to life and holding but a balanced view of it, comes to defy death. Death ceases to have any terror for his noble and mighty soul. He is firmly and selflessly dedicated to a just and righteous cause and would ever find himself ready to lay down his very life in order to defend and uphold it. To him Death is but the harbinger of the glad tidings so fondly cherished by him—that of the restless soul's happy access to and its ultimate meeting with the Lord through the spontaneous surrender of his own earthly frame. One of the Man's outstanding traits is

26. *Zarb-i-Kalim*. These fine verses would seem to be inspired by the profound Qur'an-Verse 29, sec. 4, *surah* xlviii, part XXVI, which states some of the noble traits of the graceful characters of the Holy Prophet's Companions, represented as supreme types of the 'Perfect Man.'

beyond doubt manifested when he would welcome the approaching death with a smiling countenance.

[27] نشانِ مردِ مومن با تو گویم
چون مرگ آید تبسّم برلبِ اوست

> I may just let you know of a sign of the Believer :
>
> As Death draweth nigh, behold ! there appeareth a smile on his lips."

Another important feature of Iqbal's sublime message is the noble principle of internationalism and human fraternity stressed by him as essential for international concord and harmony and for the peaceful progress of mankind. Of all the intellectuals and thinkers of the East, Iqbal was the first to denounce the conception of nationalism, progressively self-centred and aggressive in nature, advocated by the modern West and propounded to the East, and to warn the Eastern and the Muslim nations against the far-reaching and disastrous consequences of accepting the conception and working it out in their national and cultural life. As a gifted preacher of Islam, the thinker of the East was definitely opposed to such a conception of "nationalism", and as such was intransigent in his attitude towards nationalism.

Islam, as the universal religion of mankind, seeks to curb the sentiment of exclusive and intolerant patriotism, the origin of nationalism, in order to revolutionise and broaden man's outlook, enable him to develop a cosmopolitan outlook of life,

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27. *Armughan-i-Huzur-i-Millat.*

and thus raise humanity above geographical boundaries and racial limitations and bind mankind together through one religious ideal, without any distinction of caste, colour, blood, race, nationality, or language. Those conversant with its spirit know that Islam looks askance at nationalism and discountenances all such racial tendencies and national impulses. Islam has its vital aim of uplifting men and nations above the geographical boundaries and creating or infusing among them real and powerful human character. Iqbal teaches us that by his migration from Mecca to distant Yathrib (Madinah), the Holy Prophet of Islam (peace and blessings be upon him !) solved the problem of the Muslim's nationalism for all times.

[28]عقدهٔ قومیت مسلم کشود
از وطن آقائے ما هجرتِ نمود

"Our Master migrated from his native City :

He solved the problem of the Muslim's nationality."

"Islām," observes Iqbal "finds the Principle of human unification not in the blood and bones but in the mind of man. Indeed its social message to mankind is : 'Deracialize yourself or perish by internecine war'." "In the direction of human domestication," writes Iqbal, "it has done in one thousand years far more important work than Christianity and Buddhism ever did in two thousand years or more."* In fact, it was Iqbal who smashed the idol of territorial nationalismin our days.

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28. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (The Mysteries of Selflessness).

The horrible consequences of this anti-human political ideology, which is in fact the scourge of God upon men for their persistent transgression of His defined Limitations, we have already witnessed with our own eyes in the gigantic conflict that raged so furiously from 1939 to 1945, and which had enveloped practically the whole world and threatened its destruction. We would have been well advised to note the great reformer's warning and escape from the clutches of the monster of territorial nationalism, as represented by the West, which certainly, as a political conception and a social ideolgy, comes into conflict with Islam, the universal religion of mankind. We are called upon to reject the concept of nationalism, a product of the Western mind, for the nationalism of *Islām* is based on the unity of religious belief and a common ideology as to one's conduct in life.

Iqbal has his own message—vital and prophetic—to deliver to the world. He has his own spiritual and ethical values to impart to the modern world. Iqbal teaches us that the moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique. The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and blessings !) said :

تخلقوا باخلاق الله

"Imbue yourselves with the Attributes of God." Thus, man becomes unique by becoming more and more like the most unique Being. He who comes nearest to God is the completest person. The Ego attains to freedom by the removal

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**Islam and Ahmadism*.

*He was a passionate foe of modern nationalism and denounced it in the strongest possible terms.

of all obstructions in its way and it reaches fuller freedom by approaching the Individual Who is most free—God. In a word, life is an endeavour for freedom.

Iqbāl further tells us that the idea of personality gives us a standard of value : it settles the problem of Good and Evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. As love (*'ishaq*), fortifies the Ego, asking (*su'āl*) weakens it. All that is achieved without personal effort comes under *su'āl*. Thus, in order to fortify the Ego we should cultivate Love (*'ishq*), *i.e.*, the power of assimilative action, and avoid all forms of 'asking' (*su'āl*), *i.e*, inaction. The lesson of assimilative action is given by the life of the Holy Prophet, at least for a Muslim. Thus the Kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this Earth.*

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION

Next to his theory of the Ego, which, is the quintessence of Iqbāl's message, comes his philosophy of action which he preaches throughout his works in all earnestness. Iqbāl assigns such he actually importance to ceaseless striving after nobler ends and ideals that identifies activity with life. Since cessation of action is taken as tantamount to a message of decay and death, its constant flow has got to be maintained at all costs. All obstacles, standing as stumbling blocks in one's progress towards the ultimate nobler ideals, must be faced with a brave heart and surmounted. These obstructions are rather intended to serve

*Vide Introduction to *The Secret of the Self*, by Professor R. A. Nicholson.

as stimuli for intensifying the tempo of man's exertions for a glorious life, and are not to be allowed to act as setbacks or impediments. The very adversity of his situation is to be made to go to induce man to still higher endeavours in life, and, thus bringing his latent capacities and dormant faculties into full play, lead him to nobler attempts at attaining to loftier heights, undreamt of otherwise when one is more favourably circumstanced. Consistently in his writings, Iqbāl is plainly emphatic in his teaching of a life of unceasing activity, unchecked by any obstruction or opposition.

With Iqbāl Life is something that is ever moving, something constantly changing. Everything is in a state of flux : everything is subject to change, assuming new forms. His is essentially a dynamic view of life, and so, according to him, constant movement and change constitute the essence of Life. Springing from perpetual movement, Life is nothing but one long struggle, a constant fight against adverse, overwhelming odds, ever aiming at new victories and fresh conquests. This trend in Iqbāl's thought, with its due stress on 'deed,' is just in consonance with the spirit of the teachings of Islām which hold up unceasing good action (*'amal as-sāleh*), along with strong religious faith (*īmān*), as the pre-requisite of a glorious life in this world and of salvation (*najāh*) in the Hereafter, thus ensuring triumph real and supreme (*falāh*) in both worlds. When there is no movement and no change, life comes to a standstill, until it ceases to exist. With his clarion call to action, the poet would cry hoarse :

[29] جس میں نہ ہو انقلاب موت ہے وہ زندگی
رُوحِ اُمم کی حیات کشمکشِ انقلاب !

"The life that admits of no revolution amounts to death ;

For, the life of the spirit of nations consists in a struggle for revolution".

A classic illustration of this vital aspect of Iqbāl's thought, stressing action as the supreme good, is found in an instructive dialogue between the Shore and the Wave, which the poet has for his reply to a question put by a German poet, Heinrich Heine :

[30] ساحلِ اُفتادہ گفت گرچہ بسے زیستم
ہیچ نہ معلوم شُد آہ کہ من چیستم

[31] موج ز خُود رفتۂ تیز خرامید و گُفت
ہستم اگر میروم، گر نروم نیستم !

"Though I have lived long', said the rugged Shore ;

'Ah ! Little is known what, after all, am I.'

Growing furious, the Wave rolled rapidly and said :

'I do exist if I keep moving on ; if I don't, I am no more'."

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29. *Bal-Jibril.*
30 & 31. *Piyam-i-Mashriq.*

IQBAL AND PLATONISM

One of the salient features of his vital and practical philosophy, which distinguish him from other great mystics, is that the Sūfism preached by Iqbāl improves upon the Sūfī doctrine—which was admittedly influenced by Platonic philosophy—that by means of passing from individuality the mystic attains to everlasting life in God. Iqbāl's unreserved criticism of Platonism is directed against those philosophical systems which hold up death rather than life as their ideal—systems which ignore the greatest obstruction to life, namely, matter, and teach men to run away from it instead of absorbing it. The idealistic philosophy of Plato (*circ*) 427-347 B.C.), the famous Greek philosopher, as expounded in his *Dialogues* which deal with the whole range of philosophical ideas, finds life's glow in self-mortification and self-effacement.

Plato, disclple of the celebrated Greek philolosopher, Socrates (*c*. 470-399 B.C.), developed the ethical notions and philosophical views of his master and recorded them in his "Dialogues". The most significant part of Plato's teaching is the doctrine that ideas rather than sensations form the basis of objective truth. Truly, Plato is the originator of Idealism. He believed in what is popularly known as 'Theory of Ideas'. This Theory has served as a source of inspiration to the subsequent generations of the idealistic thinkers in one form or the other. Plato's system of speculative thought, with its obvious stress on Idealism to the utter neglect of Factualism, has strongly influenced the idealistic philosophers of all ages and lands, thus making idealists of men instead of factualists.

While Intellect is deprecated by Iqbāl and Intuition is eulogised by him, Self receives, for the first time, a systematic treatment at the hands of this thinker. Critically speaking, the forces of both Idealism and Factualism constantly worked on the mind of Iqbāl, but one would happily notice emphasis on the latter aspect. And *there* lies the clear and distinct divergence from the lifeless and pernicious Platonic Idealism that has practically absorbed many a master mind of various nations.

Iqbāl, as an apostle of the Ego and the indefatigable preacher of the dignity of man, vigorously criticises Plato the Greek and outright condemns Platonic system of thought. Just as spiritually Iqbāl profoundly abhors nationalism and imperialism and will have nothing to do with them, so intellectually he displays strong aversion to Neo-Platonism and pseudo-mysticism. He throws himself with all his might against rationalistic thinkers, Neo-Platonists, idealistic philosophers and pseudo-mystical poets, who are, in his opinion, the authors of the decay prevailing in the Muslim world. Iqbāl maintains that only by self-affirmation, self-expression and self-development can the Muslims once more become strong and free.

HIS MESSAGE

For the modern Muslims particularly Iqbāl bears a sublime practical message. He calls the Muslims' attention back to their original exalted status and reminds them of the noble role they were originally destined to play on Earth as leaders of mankind. Iqbāl calls upon his lethargic co-religionists to realise their original true position and the noble ideal for the promotion of which they were created and sent into the world.

آے ز آداب امانت بے خبر ![32]
از دو عالم خویش را بہتر شمر !

"O thou that art heedless of the duties of the 'Trust' committed to thee ;

Let thee esteem thyself superior to both worlds !"

A free and independent Muslim fraternity, having the *Ka'bah* as its centre and knit together by Love of *Allāh* and devotion to *Mustafā*—such is Iqbāl's *ideal*. In his works, he preaches the ideal with burning sincerity and at the same time points out how it may be attained. His poems deal with the life of the individual Muslim as well as with the life of the Muslim Community. Holding that the full development of the individual presupposes a society, Iqbāl finds the ideal society in what he considers to be the Holy Prophet's conception of Islām. Every Muslim helps to establish the Islāmic Kingdom of God (*Hukūmat-e-Ilāhyyah*) upon Earth, in that he strives to make himself more and more a perfect individual.

Iqbāl's message to mankind, particularly to Muslims, is the call : "Back to the *Qur'ān* ! Back to the *Prophet* !" The cry has been heard from other directions also, and the responses have unfortunately been somewhat discouraging. But in the case of this reformer, it is allied with the revolutionary force of the original Islāmic Philosophy, and coupled as it is with the force of all that is revolutionary and of vital practical use in modern Western philosophy, the cry, we are led to hope and believe by a careful and dispassionate study of Iqbāl's thought-

32. *Asrar-i-Khudi*. For an elucidation of the "Trust," hinted upon in the verse, see on page (?) the relevant footnote bearing on the subject.

stimulating works, will vitalise the movement and ensure its triumph. What appears to be the decline of Islām is nothing but the death and the emptiness of our hearts which are too lazy to hear the eternal voice.

That sincere servant of Islām and a most gifted interpreter of its vital Divine Message for mankind in modern times exhorts the Muslims of this age to submit themselves wholeheartedly to the guidance (*hidāyah*) vouchsafed to mankind through the sublime religion of *Islām*; for only unreserved, faithful surrender to the Divine Commandments could ensure a revival of Islām and bring about the regeneration of Muslims. Iqbāl, invites the present-day Muslims, who have long grown indifferent to their religious and cultural obligations, to lose themselves a while in the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah* of Muhammad Mustafā (peace and blessings be upon him!), the Supreme Leader and World Exemplar, in order to rise again to greatness, power and glory.

[33] اندکے گم شو بہ قرآن و خبر
باز اے ناداں ! بخویش اندر نگر !

"Lose thyself a little in the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīth*:

Retire again to look into thy self, O ignorant one!"

Iqbāl is a religious enthusiast. In a word, his message to the present-day Muslims is the clarion call: "*Islām* alone must be your inspiration and your only *raison d'etre* in this world, your only justification for existence on the earth." But by Islām Iqbāl aways means the Islām as understood, represented and practised by the Last Prophet and his great

33. *Musafir* (The Traveller).

Companions. There is no denying the fact that the philosophy which Iqbal proposes in order to invigorate the lethargic and decadent Muslim peoples is the same as the fundamental philosophy of Islām. Would that the modern Muslims could be admonished by the age's wise counsel !

[34] بحق دل بند و راه مصطفیٰ رو !

"Bind the heart with God and tread the *way* of Mustafā."

The message of Iqbāl is truly Pan-Islāmic in its spirit.

IQBAL AND THE POLITICAL THINKERS

This spirit running like a refrain in his poetry is inspired by the glorious tradition represented by that great champion of Islām Maulānā Sayed Muhammad Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī al-

JAMAL-UD-DIN AL-AFGHANI

Ḥusainī (1839-1897). The contribution of this man to the cause of Islām is as important and lasting as that of the other few great men who dedicated their lives to the selfless service of Islām and served the Millat by organising the Muslims in their respective spheres. This great Muslim refomer was born in the 19th century, in Afghānistān. He was the first Muslim who fully realised the magnitude of the peril of Western Imperialism, and sternly warned the Muslims of this grave menace. Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn's whole fight, in the nineteenth century, had been for the revival of Pan-Islāmism, and had had its aim of restoring the political prestige of Islām and defeating the imperialistic designs of ambitious European Powers.

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34. *Armughan-i-Hijaz : Huzur-i-Millat* (The Gift of the Hedjaz).

Iqbāl pays a glowing tribute to al-Afghāni, his political guide and companion, for his winning eloquence and the transformation the latter brought about in the world of Muslim thought and feeling :

سیّدُ السّادات مولانا جمال [35]
زنده از گفتارِ او سنگ و سفال

"The Sayed of the Sayeds is Maulānā Jamāl :

His eloquence stirred with life dead earth and stone."

Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn's strong persuasive power and his earnestness of purpose influenced some of the most prominent Muslims of the day, Sa'd Zāghlul Pāshā, Egypt's influential politcal leader. and Muftī Muhammad 'Abduh, the great Egyptian theologian, being among his disciples. Al-Afghānī's work in the political field was undauntedly carried on after him in Egypt by Sa'd Zāghlul Pāshā who, by his untiring efforts, did much to liberate the country from Britain's imperialist hold. In the religio-cultural sphere the noble example set by Maulānā Sayed Jamāl-ud-Din Al-Afghānī was consistently followed by his ardent and talented dīsciple, Saikh Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905). Modern Egypt got a wise lead from the Shaikh, who is regarded as having stimulated the vital educational reforms in that country and whose selfless devotion to the Millat's cause inspired a cultural regeneration of the Egyptians.

Migrating from one Muslim country to another, Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn's influence spread to all Muslim countries where many leading personalities having come into contact

35. *Jawe Namah.*

with him were transformed into miniature Jamal-ud-Dins determined to fight for the political prestige of Islam and ready to bend their energies to delivering the Muslim world from the strangling clutches of European Imperialism.

Just as the great Sūfī and mystic poet, Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn *Rūmi* (1207-1273 A.D.), is regarded as the spiritual guide of Iqbāl, Maulānā Syed Jamal-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī, the dauntless standard-bearer of Pan-Islāmism, may rightly be called Iqbāl's political guide and his spiritual progenitor, whose restless soul forced the emergence of a reformer and renovator like Iqbāl out of the chaos of Islāmic decadence in the twentieth century. Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn's own example ultimately guided the shaping of Iqbāl's Islāmic political vision and convictions. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the political decay of Islām reached its climax, but Islām practically took no time to realize its position in the world. This period, as critical for Islām, saw the birth of a manlike Jamāl-ud-Dīn, in a country like Afghānistān !

PAN ISLAMISM

The Pan-Islāmic Movement, which al-Afghāni strove hard and desperately to revive, derived its sanction from the vital Islāmic teaching of universal Muslim Brotherhood, so emphatically laid down in the Holy Qur'ān :

> "The Faithful form but a single Brotherhood, so make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers. And fear God, haply ye may receive Mercy."*

* The Qur'an ; part XXVI, *surah* xlix, section 1, verse 10.

Now, in the Qur'ānic verse, quoted above as the inspiring force behind the Pan-Islāmic Movement, it is clearly manifested that the fear of God alone (*taqwā*, of which but one shade of meaning is there implied), which is akin to love of God, prompts the Faithful to observe the supreme duty to Allāh and Islām, in striving to achieve and preserve the unity of the Muslim world, in order to realise the noble Qur'ānic ideal of universal Muslim Brotherhood. The Believers' concern for Islāmic unity and harmony among their fellow-brethren and their efforts towards this great end, inspired by their fear and love of God, shall invoke Allāh's Mercy upon them, making them the supreme and paramount power in the world.

The Pan-Islāmic Movement, thus revived by Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī, was nothing else but the genuine teaching of Islām translated into practice, which stresses the Millat's obligation for the preservation of universal concord and unity among Muslims all the world over. This movement signifies that every Muslim, in his individual capacity, and all Muslims, as the collective community of Islām, are relgiously bound to contribute to the forging of indivisible and invulnerable Islāmic unity, binding all the Muslim peoples into one compact body, or 'a solid cemented structure,' as the Holy Book would describe it.[1]

Parallel to al-Afghānī's movement of Pan-Islāmism, Sayed Muhammad bin 'Alī (d. 1860) founded, in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, the Sanūsī Movement of Muslim Africa aimed at the moral and cultural resurrection of African

1. The Qur'an, part XXXVII, *surah* lxi, sec. 1, verse 4, where occurs the expression *bunyanum marsus*—'a solid cemented structure.'

Muslim peoples. These movements were, though indirectly, inspired by the vigorous call to reform that had come out from the heart of the distant Arabian desert, once the cradle of pristine Islām. In 1703 was born Shaikh Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1787 A.D.), the great Muslim puritan reformer and founder of the so-called Wahhābī movement, in Najd. He it was who, more than two hundred years ago effected the spiritual and social revival of Islām, sitrred the Faith that had long grown stagnant and caused the first throb of life in modern Islām.

To the Pan-Islamic Movement Sayed Jamal-ud-Din's own magnetic personality, combined with his unimpeachable eloquence, lent additional grace. This movement had its repercucssions on all Muslim countries and in due course brought about an intellectual and political awakening in the modern world of Islam. The indications of that universal awakening are today visible more or less in every Muslim country.

Thus, the realization of the Muslim Brotherhood is the greatest social ideal of Islām. On it was based the Last Prophet's Sermon delivered on the occasion of his 'Farewell Pilgrimage' (*hijjat al-widā'*), and Islām cannot be completely realized until this ideal is achieved. The *Ummat* of Islām, therefore, in its own interest, as in the interest of mankind at large, should avoid any deviation from the Law and Will of God. As a matter of fact, all the tenets of Islām, each with its characteristic singleness of spirit and purpose, are ultimately intended to serve as unifying forces in the collective life of the Millat. The various 'unities' of the Islāmic system, conspicuous for their rational character and natural

basis, find their combined physical manifestation in the practical social ideal of one universal Muslim fraternity. The real strength of the Muslim Millat, therefore, lies in the universal Brotherhood of Muslims.

In truth, the Muslim peoples' strength has its roots in the fundamental Qur'ānic principle of universal Muslim Brotherhood. This noble teaching of the Faith provides the essential incentive for achieving the lofty ideal of the collective strength and security of Muslims ; it is the vital source from which springs spontaneously all true Islāmic unity and solidarity, which must, by all means, be invulnerable to the aliens' brutal assaults and secret intrigues.

The task before the modern Muslim is immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islām without breaking with the past. "The man," Iqbāl tells us, "who fully realised the importance and immensity of the task, and whose deep insight into the inner meaning of the history of Muslim thought and life, combined with a broad vision engendered by his wide experience of men and manners, would have made him a living link between the past and the future, was Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī. If his indefatigable but divded energy," Iqbāl proceeds to say, "could have devoted itself entirely to Islām as a system of human belief and conduct, the world of Islām, intellectually speaking, would have been on a much more solid ground to-day."*

The essence of al-Afghānī's message, addressed pointedly to the Muslim peoples, amounts to a fervent appeal for Asian-

* *Vide The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lecture IV).

African nations' unity, calling for constant vigilance against the Western Powers' intrigues to split and smash that unity in the interest of their ignoble imperialistic ends. He would exhort them to be on their guard against the subversive activities of the self-seeking modern European Powers, ever intent on enslaving the weaker Eastern nations and perpetuating their political and economic bondage.

A revolt against the extreme conservatism and rigidity of the '*Ulamā*', the first objective of Maulānā Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī was a fresh orientation of the Faith and a freedom to re-interpret the Law in the light of advancing experience. This 19th century Muslim reformer also rose in revolt against the mysticism which enervated the people and led the Muslims to seeking relief from the rigorous discipline of the Law of Islām. Moreover, he vigorously criticised the despotic exercise by Muslim kings of their powers who, only concern-ned with the protection of their dynastic interests, did not hesitate to sell their countries to the highest bidder.

So, al-Afghānī found the world of Islām ruled by three main forces—Mullāism, Sūfism, and Despotism of Muslim kings—and he concentrated his whole energy on creating a revolt against these forces. "To prepare the masses of Muslims for a revolt against such a state of things in the world of Islām," writes Iqbāl, "was the special mission of Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghāī"*

Mentally and spiritually illumined with the light of original religious thought and action, Maulānā Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī directed his energy and intellect mainly

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* *Islam and Ahmadism.*

to the political regeneration and emancipation of the Muslims of the world. He devoted his life to securing the political solidarity and integrity of the Muslim world and to creating a solid Muslim bloc against the warlike machinations and aggressive penetration of modern imperialist European powers.

Contemporary history has many a moral to teach, and recent happenings in parts of the Eastern world should further strengthen us in the conviction that unless an Eastern-Islāmic bloc is formed, the imperialist Powers of Europe must continue to hold the weaker nations of Asia and Africa in their deadly grip. It would only be realizing al-Afghānī's dream, if an Eastern-Muslim unity is forged in the interest of world peace; and this, in consequence, must vindicate the Easterners' right to an independent national existence, not to be encroached upon by any European Power.

No man in our time has stirred the soul of Islām more deeply than 'Allāma Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī. His spirit is still working in the world of Islam, and nobody knows where it will end. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbāl, the 20th century Muslim reformer, by his constructive message furthers the practical teachings of Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī which aim at promoting a free and independent universal Muslim fraternity, united under one supreme authority, the Caliph, and in one State, owing allegiance to One God and to the Last Prophet (upon whom be peace and blessings !).

Iqbāl's message epitomises the fundamental social, political and spiritual conceptions of Islām. He gave a new force to the efforts made by great Muslim thinkers like Sayed Jamāl-ud-

Dīn al-Afghānī, Muftī Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā. Iqbāl's ideal of genuine Islāmic theocracy and social order was directly inspired by the teaching of the late prince Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā (1838-1914), the renowned Muslim reformer, statesman, leader and Grand Vizier of Khilafatist Turkey.

SA'ID HALIM PASHA

The great contemporary of Jamāl-ud-Dīnal-Afghānī, this prominent Ottoman statesman, with his unflinching devotion to Islām and burning solicitude for the Muslims, was also an indefatigable preacher of Pan-Islām.

Prince Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā was well-versed in modern European politics, and was well-acquainted with Western thought as well as with the original teachings of Islām. Inspired by his deep love for Islām, he gave much thought to problems concerning the future of Islām and of the Muslims. His most pressing concern was reconstituting the Islāmic Sovereign State, so that Islām could reassert itself and be restored to its pristine glory. Sa'īd Ḥalim Pāshā's aim was to organize afresh the decaying 'Osmānli Empire as the central power of Muslims, in strict accordance with the laws and modernised institutions of Islām.

Prince Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā has brilliantly elaborated in his masterpiece, *Islāmlāshmaq* in Turkish, his own theories and concrete concepts regarding the framework of the progressive modern State to be governed strictly in accordance with the principles of the Islamic *Sharī'ah*. It must be said that there is absolutely no room in this plan for 'pseudo-priesthood,' the chief misleader of the Muslim world. The State, having been 'Islāmised' and thus organised on truly Islāmic lines, will proceed on lines consistent with the basic principles of the *Sharī'ah*. Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, the late Sa'īd Halim Pāshā, Iqbāl, was inspired by the

THEOCRACY

vision of a New City of Islām – a world-wide theocratic State in which all Muslims, no longer divided by the barriers of race and country, shall be one.

Being intimately acquainted with the politics and thought of modern Europe and equally conversant with the teachings of true Islām, Shahid Sa'id Ḥalim Pāshā was well qualified to advise the Muslim world as to its future policy, and his advice was not *Auropālāshmaq* (Europeanise), but *Islāmlāshmaq* (Islāmise). His remarkable book, called *Islāmlāshmaq* and translated into Arabic, tells the Muslims of the world that their only way of revival is return to true Islām, since falling off from trve Islām has been their ruin. This keen-sighted writer advises the Muslims not to discard Islāmic institutions, putting western institutions in their place, but to modernise Islāmic institutions and uplift them to the present standard of efficiency. The Muslims are called upon by the Grand Vizier to re-examine modern institutions as well as their own local traditions and ideals with a view to rebuilding their moral, social, and political ideals out of the original simplicity and universality of genuine Islāmic ideals, and also to rebuild the Law of *Sharī'ah* in the light of modern thought and experience.

True to the spirit of original Islāmic teachings, Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā offers his concrete proposals, and thus makes his substantial contribution to the framing of a constitution for the theocratic State possessing the truly Islāmic character. The effective sovereignty of the Islāmic *Sharī'ah* is conceived by this illustrious Muslim Turk as the dominating feature of the State which, in spirit and form, follows the pattern of State-administration instituted in the blessed times of the Holy Prophet and

of his immediate successors, the rightly-guided Caliphs (*Khulafā' ar-Rāshidīn*). In his illuminating dissertation, *The Reform of Muslim Society*, this great Muslim suggests practical lines along which the contemplated reform of Muslim society in our days would proceed.

Like Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā Iqbāl was concerned with the transformation of Muslim society, irrespective of national boundaries, and like him he preached that Muslims must awake not to go forward along the road of Westernisation but along the distinctive path of Islāmic unity and progress. Iqbāl is deeply indebted to the martyr Sa'id Ḥalīm Pāshā, for the latter's practical teachings, as set forth in his *Islāmlāshmaq*, contributed to an appreciable extent to determining Iqbāl's own Islāmic political views and created in him the vision of true Islāmic polity.

In the sixth Lecture of his famous work, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām*, the book which serves as an exposition of his philosophy on modern lines, Iqbāl has given broad outlines of the constitution of Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā's ideal Islāmic State and touched upon the Ottoman leader's views regarding the reconstruction of Islāmic socio-ethical structure. The main principles which go to govern the framework of that State have been discussed at length by the late Mr. Muḥammad Marmaduke Pickthall (1875—1936), the highly cultured English Muslim and translator of the Glorious Qur'ān, in the eighth Lecture of his eminently valuable book, *The Cultural Side of Islām*.

In the *Jāwed Nāmah* one meets with eloquent evidence of the influence of Sa'īd Ḥalīm upon Iqbāl. In appreciative terms,

indicative of his profound devotion to the noble Turk, the political Disciple speaks of the Master politician :

[34] ترک سالار آں حلیم درد مند
فکرِ او مثلِ مقامِ او بلند

"The Turkish leader, that Ḥalīm devoted to the Millat !

His thought is lofty just as his status is noble."

Intensely devoted to the Muslim Millat as they had been, the restless souls of Sayed Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī and Shahīd Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā dedicated themselves to the selfless service of Islām. Possessing a penetrating vision as they did, these men exerted themselves to the utmost to solve the serious spiritual, social and political problems the present-day Muslim world is confronted with. The East has not produced men better than these two great Muslims, as Iqbāl would say :

[35] گفت "مشرق زیں دو کس بہتر نزاد
ناخنِ شاں عقدہ ہائے ما کشاد"

"He (Rūmī) said, 'The East reared no men better than these two souls :

'Their geniuses did solve the problems of ours."

The fact cannot be over-emphasised that most of the problems facing the modern world of Islām could be solved, if the

34 & 35. *Jāwed Nāmah.*

Muslim nations could rise above the artificial geographical and racial boundaries and enter into that higher brotherhood preached by the Holy Prophet and interpreted by men like Sa'ıd Ḥalīm Pāshā and Muḥammad Iqbāl.

THE ARTIST

An appreciation of Iqbāl's art and its various aspects, like his thought and its ramifications, is too vast a subject for the limited scope of this Introduction, nor can its inherent beauties be fully brought out to the readers. The interested reader will find ample material, in so far as the aesthetic side of Iqbāl's poetry is concerned, in such scholarly books on Iqbāl as *Rūḥ-e-Iqbāl* by Dr. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān and *Iqbāl : His Art and Thought* by Syed 'Abdul Vāḥid. We have only to regret our inability to do full justice to the poetry and philosophy of Iqbāl, the more profound meaning of whose message to the modern world would reveal itself and its hitherto hidden beauties unfold themselves to research scholars and serious students of the poet as time rolls on. We would speak here briefly of his ideal of poetry, his creative ideology and other general distinctive features of his philosophic poetry.

Iqbāl holds the poetry is a means for inspiring men to lofty thoughts and noble ideals. He regards Art as subservient to Life and the value and merit of the art of a poet is to be judged in measure of the life-element it possesses. Only that poet can produce a vigorous, lifeful poetry who is sincere in his art and motive, imagination and exertion, and whose sources of inspiration in themselves are healthy and life-stimulating. Aimless poetry, with no noble ideal before it as its motive force, is a dead art : it deriveth its warmth from an extinguished fire.

[36]نغمه گر معنی ندارد مرده ایست
سوز او از آتش افسرده ایست

"A note, if it carries no meaning, is dead :

It owes its warmth to an extinguished fire."

Iqbāl teaches us that art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality. I must quote here an important relevant passage from an enlightening Note written by Iqbāl himself on "Our Prophet's Criticism of Contemporary Arabian Poetry", Says the poet-philosopher :

> "The ultimate end of all human activity is Life— glorious, powerful, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose, and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to Reality around, on the mastery of which alone Life depends, is a message of decay and death There should be no opium-eating in Art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power."*

The healthy literary ideal, providing a stimulus to the growth of constructive literature, is objectively singular in subordinating all human Art to Life, unifying both into one vital

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36. *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* : *Bandagī-Nāmah*, or The Book of Slavery.
**The New Era*, 1916, p. 251.

IMRA'UL QAIS VERSUS 'ANTARAH

factor. The *litterateurs* of today could well be guided by the critical comments made by the Holy Prophet on two particular occasions, since their own literature is the product of the period of their national decadence, and they are now seeking a fresh literary ideal. As tradition would say, the verse of Imra'ul Qais, the greatest of the Arabian poets of pre-Islāmic days (*Jāhillyyah, i.e.*, "time of Ignorance"), elicited this significant view of his idealistic poetry from the Holy Prophet :

اشعر آلشعراء وقائد هوالی لنار

> "He is the chief of the poets, and is their leader to Hell !"

The pagan Arab's poetry called forth a mixed tribute from the Prophet of Islām—that of deprecatory admiration. This saying of the Prophet, besides appreciating the intrinsic value of the poet's verse, criticises the poetic ideal as followed by the greatest Arab poet of the pre-Islāmic times (*Jāhillyyah*, or "period of Ignorance"), Imra'ul Qais. Anyone who studies intelligently the Arabic *Dīwān* of Imra'ul Qais, storing all the imaginative legacy of pre-Islāmic Arabia—the usual wine passion, laments, and scenes—would subscribe to the view intuitively taken by the Holy Prophet of Imra'ul Qais's poetry and of its ideal. The deprecatory aspect of the Prophet's critical remark about the poet, while his greatness as poet is recognised, lucidly points to the destructive character of the inspiration his verse seeks to kindle in the minds of his readers. Instead of awakening the readers' dormant will-force and diverting it to cons-

tructive channels, the poet would hypnotise their imagination and bring drowsiness, so as to drive them to self-abandonment and corruptive inactivity.

The Holy Prophet's wise criticism of the verse of Imra'ul Qais and of his poetic ideal elucidates a principle of the 'fine arts' that the beauties of works of art and those of human life are not necessarily one and the same A poet's fine verse may possibly drag the reader to the lowest, instead of elevating him to the highest, poetry being a sort of witch-craft. Damned is the poet who, instead of lending attraction to the difficulties and trials of national life, paints degeneracy and decadence in radiant colours of health and vigour, and thereby leads the nation to ultimate ruin. He would rob the people of whatever life and power is left in them. The inspiration of a single decadent may prove more ruinous to a people than all the ravages the savage hosts of a barbarian might bring upon that people.

In fact, the ideal, which ignores the subordination of Art to human life and personality and which divorces Life, the vital reality, from Art, is fondly pursued by poets, possessing no creative intellect and no critical insight, with no realistic approach to life and no constructive vision of things. The inspiration of these decadent poets, if their art can lure their fellows to their song, in the long run goes to degrade a people morally and intellectually and debase it socially and spiritually, thus hastening its ultimate political decay and national destruction.

The other critical comment made by the Holy Prophet

refers to the verse of the pagan Arab, 'Antarah, the famous poet of tribe of Banu Qubais:

ولقد أبيت على الطوى وأظله
حتى انال به كريم المأكل

"Many a night have I spent in toil and labour hard;

So that I should be capable of an honest living."

The Prophet, the sole purpose of whose advent was to render man's life glorious and to make its trials and hardships appear all pleasant, greatly appreciated the verse, observing that 'no Arab had ever been able to arouse in him (the Prophet) a desire to see that Arab highly spoken of; but he spoke the truth that his heart spontaneously liked the writer of the verse.' The Prophet himself felt so desirous of meeting personally the heathen Arab, surely because the Arab had conveyed in his verse what Allāh's Apostle's own mind had so fondly entertained. The reason for the honour thus conferred on Poet 'Antarah is not far to seek. 'Antarah's verse, with its realistic approach to Life's hard problems, vividly portrays a perfectly wholesome life. The hardships man naturally has to suffer while striving to earn an honest livelihood are beautifully depicted by the poet on thought's canvas

The Master's high appreciation of 'Antarah's factual poetry elucidates another important principle of art that Art is subservient to human life, and not above it. Every capacity of man inherent in him, and all energy the bountiful Creator has blessed his mind with are dedicated to one supreme end,

namely, Life—rich and powerful. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose, and the value of everything must be judged according to its life-yielding capacity. Art, therefore, must serve as a means to the end, *i.e.*, Life. The fallacious theory of the perfection of Art being end in itself is a clever invention of individual and collective decadence to cheat us out of life and power.

The Holy Prophet's intuitive criticism of contemporary Arabian poetry, particularly that referring to the poets Imra'ul Qais and 'Antarah, provides the true and mature literary ideal, and Iqbāl directly received inspiration from it, and consequently his own poetic ideal was inspired and determined by the very same source. Happily, then, the ideal standard wherewith to measure the Life-value of the artist's work is provided in the Prophet's wise critical comments on the Arabian poets, Amra'ul Qais and 'Antarah. Viewed in the perspective offered by the Holy Prophet's critical expressions, Iqbāl stands out as the chief exponent of this most healthy literary ideal, for his own poetry and his thought, revolutionary and constructive in character, fully satisfy the ideal criterion revealed in the Arabian Prophet's intuitive criticism.

THE POETIC IDEAL

A poet's verse, if the writer follows the true poetic ideal, must be based on reality and nature, eschewing all exaggeration and travesty of truth. It is Life's grim realities and stern facts, not meaningless hyperboles and superfluities, the poet is primarilyconcerned with. It is the truthful poet, with the realistic outlook and the factualistic attitude, who is commended in the Holy scripture ; and it is the idealistic poet, with his lifeless

idealism and hopeless ineffectiveness, who is duly censured.* So, Iqbāl's ideal for poetry was that it should not only be a true expression of life as it was, but that it should also inspire human beings to noble deeds. This brief resume of Iqbāl's view of Art follows the lines of the poet's own presentation of the vital poetic ideal, as actually pursued by his sublime verse.

A true artist or poet is in direct contact or communion with God, the Giver of Life and Power. He participates in the creative quality of God and Life presents and holds out to him promising prospects of limitless possibilities. By his art he creates newer worlds and brings fresher life to the heart and mind of a people. The chief characteristic of the true poet is that because of the richness of his soul he makes the empty full by his inspiring melody and out of the richness of his nature he lavishes the wealth of life on others.

[37]آفریند کائنات دیگرے
قلب را بخشد حیات دیگرے

"He brings into being another universe :
He bestows another life on the heart."

[38]زان فراوانی که اندر جان اوست
هر تهی را پر نمودن شان اوست

"Through the richness that is in his soul :
He makes every empty being full, which
is his art's glory."

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*The Qur'ān ; part XIX, *sūrah* xxvi, sec. 11, verses 224—227. It is significant that the *Sūrah*, the relevant chapter of the Qūr'ān, containing the reference is named *Ash-Shu'arā'*, "The Poets," which takes its title from a word occurring in verse 224.

37 & 38. *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (*Bandagī-Nāmah*).

Furthermore, the poet by nature is an embodiment of quest and search, ever seeking new beauties in the domain of art and nature and ever finding new, vital meanings in life : he is the creator and sustainer of man's all noble ambitions and aspirations and yearnings. Such a poet is the source of a profound, undying life and everlasting, infinite inspiration to a people—one without whom a nation is lifeless, dead.

[39]فطرت شاعر سراپا جستجو ست
خالق و پروردگار آرزو ست

"The poet by nature is search personified :

He is the creator and sustainer of all aspiration."

[40]شاعر اندر سینهٔ ملت چو دل
ملتے بے شاعرے انبار گل !

"The poet is to a people what the heart is to the breast :

A people deprived of a poet is a heap of dust !

Iqbāl tells us that poetry devoid of passion and fervour is sad lamentation :

[41]سوز و مستی نقشبند عالمے ست
شاعری بے سوز و مستی ماتمے ست

"Fervour and ecstasy give shape to the world :

Poesy devoid of fervour and ecstasy is lamentation."

The poet pictures the soul-movement of the ideal artist in whom Love reveals itself as a unity of Beauty and Power :

39, 40 & 41. *Jāwed-Nāmah.*

[42]دلبری بے قاهری جادوگری است
دلبری با قاهری پیغمبری است

"Heart-snatching without Power is witchcraft ;

Heart-snatching with Power becomes the prophetic mission."

To illustrate Iqbāl's own view of Art, whose forthright repudiation bordering on denunciation of the oft-applauded dogma, which advocates the pernicious theory of "Art for the sake of Art," expresses itself in strong unequivocal terms, can do no better than quote the relevant striking passages from Dr. Iqbāl's illuminating Foreword to "Muraqqa'-i-Chughtaī," Ghalib's illustrated Edition by Mr. M. A. Chughtaī :

"All that I can say is that I look upon

Art as subservient to life and personality."

"The spiritual health of a people largely depends on the kind of inspiration which their poets and artists receive. But inspiration is not a matter of choice. It is a gift, the character of which cannot be critically judged by the recipient before accepting it. It comes to the individual unsolicited, and only to socialise itself. For this reason the personality that receives and the life quality of that which is received are matters of the utmost importance for mankind. The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or picture, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attila or a

42. *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (*Bandagī-Nāmah.*)

Changez As the Prophet of Islam said of Imra'ul Qais—the greatest poet of pre-Islamic Arabia :

اشعر الشعراء و قائدهم الی النار*

"To permit the visible to shape the invisible, to seek what is scientifically called adjustment with Nature is to recognise her mastery over the spirit of man. Power comes from resisting her stimuli and not from exposing ourselves to their action. Resistance of what is with a view to create what ought to be is health and life. All else is decay and death. Both God and man live by perpetual creation :

حسن را از خود برون جستن خطاست
آنچه می بائست پیش ما کجا ست ؟**

"The artist who is a blessing to mankind defies life. He is an associate of God and feels the contact of Time and Eternity in his soul. In the words of Fichte, he 'Sees all Nature full, large and abundant as opposed to him who sees all things thinner, smaller and emptier than they actually are.' The modern age seeks inspiration from Nature. But Nature simply 'is' and her function is mainly to obstruct our search for 'ought' which the artist must discover within the deeps of his own being."

THE THINKER We are initiated by Iqbal in to the secret of a powerful and exuberant life : it is nothing but one continuous movement, hard everlasting struggle and constant strenuous activity ; while inaction, lethargy and indolence tend

*"The most poetical of the poets, and their guide to Hell."

**"To seek Beauty from without is but an error ;
For what ought to be before us does not appear as such."
Zabūr-i-'Ajam (Bandagī-Nāmah)

to weaken life and eventually kill it. Life springs from perpetual movement : it is a forward assimilative movement and it removes all obstructions in its march by assimilating them and its essence is the continual creation of desires and ideals. Life becomes nobler, more powerful and more glorious by the formation of higher aims. The urge to attain the ideal and the will to gratify the ambition stimulate man's inborn capacities, dormant faculties and latent forces, bringing them into full play for achieving the desired ends.

سیل را تمکین ز نا آسودن است[43]
یک نفس آسودنش نابودن است

"The grandeur of the flood is due to restlessness ;
Rest for a while only hastens its extinction."

The poetry which embraces the spiritual and material aspects of man's life and looks to its needs, individually as well as collectively, and possesses man-making quality and nation-building capacity as its essential fundaments to support its structure accomplishes the noblest ideal that an art can aspire to and serves a most useful purpose. Developed to such a high pitch of utility, poetry becomes a noble philosophy and practical wisdom. It, then, comes up to the ideal represented in the Holy Prophet's wise observation :

ان من الشعر الحکمہ *

"Verily, there is wisdom in some poetry !"

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43. *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard, Aye Aqwām-i-Sharq ?*

*This Tradition, an authentic one (*ṣaḥīḥ*), of the Holy Prophet, quoted in the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (part XXV, *Kitāb al-Adab*), appears under different lines of transmission (*isnād*) in the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sittah*, *i.e.*, the six genuine collections of the Prophet's authenticated Traditions (*Aḥādīth*, in *pl.*, *Ḥadīth*, *in sing.*)

In that state, when it has man-making as its ideal, poetry sublimely aspires to be just true heir to prophethood, as Iqbāl would in all earnestness tell us :

شعر را مقصود اگر آدم گری ست[44]
شاعری هم وارث پیغمبری ست

"If poetry has man-making for its objective ;

Poesy well becomes heir to the prophetic Mission."

or, its Love-inspiring beauty enhanced, its Life-stirring sublimity elevated and its men-rearing quality matured, poetry proudly rises to form part of the prophetic mission, as the great mystic poet *Rūmī* would aver in the famous *Mathanawī-i-Ma'navī* :

شاعری جز و یست از پیغمبری

"Poesy forms part of the prophetic Mission !"

Free of formal poetical subtilties and literary niceties, so peculiar and usual to all poets not endowed with a prophetic vision, Iqbāl employs his noble art in unfolding the beauties of Nature and unveiling the mysteries and realities of human life. He discusses Life's serious matters and its important problems — those that have direct and tangible bearing on the exigencies of Life.

از نوا بر من قیامت رفت و کس آگاه نیست[45]
پیش محفل جز بم و زیر و مقام و راه نیست

44. *Jāwed Nāmah.*

45. *Zabūr-i-'Ajam* (Part II).

"Poesy raised a great commotion in me, and none knows it :

With the assembly what matters are treble, bass, rhyme, and manner."

نغمه ام ز اندازهٔ تار است بیش[46]
من نترسم از شکست عود خویش

"My song exceeds the range of the chord :

Yet I do not fear that my lute will break."

Following a path of his own, the poet uses his art for disclosing the secrets of Selfhood and revealing the mysteries of Selflessness.

IQBAL AND EASTERN THINKERS

The mystical aspect of Iqbāl's thought does constitute one of the essential components contributing to the making of his poetic structure. This feature of his poetry has certainly the deep impress of the influence of the greatest Muslim mystic poet of Persia, Maulānā Sayed Muḥammad Jalāl-ud-Dīn *Rūmī* (1207—1273 A.D.). He was the founder of the famous order of mystics, called the Maulviah Order. Rūmī, widely famed for his monumental *Mathnawī-i-Ma'nawī*, was inspired by the work of the eminent Persian Ṣūfī poet 'Aṭṭār (*d.* 1230 A.D.), writer of the important allegorical poem, called *Manṭaquṭ Tair*, as well as by the great Persian mystic poet Sanāī, author of the notable Ṣūfic treatise, entitled *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqat*. Rūmī's style takes after 'Aṭṭār and Sanāī, yet the spirit that animates it and his method of treating mystical problems make it an

RUMI

46. *Asrār-i-Khūdi* (*Tamhid*, or Prologue).

original style. Most of Rūmī's life was passed at Iconium (present Qoniah) in Asia Minor, for which reason he is generally known as *Rūmī*, *i.e.*, "the Anatolian."

Of all the great poems that have Divine Love as their theme, Rūmī's *Mathnawī* is the most sublime and has ever had considerable influence in Ṣūfī circles. In the *Mathnawī* lessons of deep spiritual import are inculcated by means of mystical tales, allegories and parables, which Rūmī, the preceptor and master of mystic theosophy, is apt to introduce when stating the various ethical precepts and maxims in order to emphasise the moral and stress the underlying theme in each specific group of verses, with a separate sub-title, thereby gracefully heightening the effect. It is in Rūmī that the Persian mystical genius finds its best expression. Standing supreme in his realm and recognised as the undisputed leader of Persian Ṣūfism, Rūmī holds a position which is by all means unchallengable.

The greatest inspiration of Iqbāl was Rūmī, who was to him almost what Virgil (70-19 B.C.), the classical epic poet of ancient Rome, was to Dante (1265-1321 A.D.), the great Italian poet and thinker. Iqbāl not only drank deep of European literature and modern philosophy, but he also drank at the fountain of life he discovered in the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī and assimilated the spirit of that great Muslim mystic as it expressed itself in his immortal *Mathnawī-i-Ma'nawī*.

Of all the Muslim mystic poets Rūmī was the foremost to present Islām in its pristine glory to the Muslims and to open their minds and eyes to the original Islāmic teachings in an age when signs became visible of a general turmoll in the established Muslim beliefs and practices owing to the new cultural and

intellectual impulses associated with a non-Islāmic civilization and Greek philosophy, then finding their way into the Islāmic world.

In the present age, when due to its contact with the powerful material Western civilization the Muslim world is receiving influences detrimental to the future possibilities of Islām and destructive to the Muslim society and culture, Iqbāl severely warns the Muslims against the disastrous consequences of their attitude of sad indifference and easy complacency. He brings to light the horrors of the civilization of the modern materialist Europe and the inhumanity of the sciences developed by it and the pure secular character of the progress achieved by it. His soul revolts against the existing unjust World Order, and he vigorously voices the vital and inspiring Message of Islām to the modern Muslim world as the ideal religious system, representing a co-ordination of all aspects of human life, suggesting it as the sole panacea for the ills mankind has long suffered.

So, what Rūmī did in an age long past was so admirably accomplished by Iqbāl in the present age. The comparison is beautifully expressed in the poet's own sublime lines :

[47] چو رومی در حرم دادم اذاں من
از و آموختم اسرارِ جاں من
[48] بہ دورِ فتنۂ عصرِ کہن آو
بہ دورِ فتنۂ عصرِ رواں من

"Like Rūmī did I announce in *Ḥaram* the call to prayer (*adhān*) !

I learnt from him the secrets of the Soul.

He was for the period of seduction in the ancient age :

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47 & 48. *Armughān-i-Ḥijāz* (*Ḥuzūr-i-Risālat*).

I am for the period of seduction in the present age."

Much as he dislikes all forms of pantheistic Ṣūfism exhibited by pseudo-mystical poets, Iqbāl pays homage to the pure and profound genius of Maulānā Rūmī. Iqbāl, seven centuries after Rūmī's death, revitalised and recreated Rūmī's message which was nothing but the Message of Islām.

It is evident that Iqbāl disagrees with the Persian mystic's teaching of the doctrine of self-abandonment and finds little interest in the latter's pantheistic flights. But one cannot deny that Rūmī's mysticism greatly influenced the structure of Iqbāl's thought, who has in fact tried to revive the former's conception of the 'Mystic.' Iqbāl recognises his debt to this great mystic time after time, to the extent of regarding Rūmī as his guide in the realm of the spirit (*Pīr*, or *Murshid*, the Master). For reasons of his striking similarity, both in idea and expression, to the "Sage of Rūm," (*Pīr-e Rūmī*), and this representation of a Ṣūfism of practical, healthy type, Iqbāl may rightly be styled the 'Rūmī of the Present Age.'

When analysing the basic elements of Iqbāl's poetic thought and evaluating his attitude towards Art as a manifestation of human culture, we find the poet's view of Art to be essentially realistic, since with him Art is subordinated to Life. Art, in the eyes of our poet-philosopher, when it is devoid of the Life-impulse and has lost contact with Life's hard realities and stern facts, grows worthless, and eventually turns into a Life-destroying force.

The first Indian poet to attempt a deviation from the purely

erotic strain and to introduce new forms and fresh styles into literature was Mirzā Asad Ullāh Khān *Ghālib* of Delhi (1797-1869), the last great Muslim poet and thinker of Mughal India. With its return to healthy Islāmic ideals, Iqbāl's poetry marks a clear departure from the old traditions and proceeds to put factually vital values into verse, thus ushering in a new era in literary history. Whereas Ghālib stands on the verge of a closing age, Iqbāl, with his progressive trends, comes out as the herald of modern times : the two poets follow paths that converge at certain points, then diverge.

GHALIB

Ghālib, like Iqbāl, made verses bilingually, Persian and Urdū being the two mediums for the expression of his beautiful verse, conspicuous for its delicate feeling and rich imagination. But his fame as poet and writer mainly rests on his Urdū poetry and prose, and on his introducing the peculiar modern style in the form and address of letters. Primarily and preferably composing poetry in Persian, Ghālib was eventually led to take to imperishable poesy-making in Urdū, the popular medium. Starting with poetic composition in Urdū, Iqbāl was later made by the impulse of his Muse to compose nobler and maturer poetry mostly in Persian, the masters' classical medium.

Ghālib was the poet who first gave a marked philosophical tinge to Indian Persian and Urdū poetry, making poetry a serious subject of study. He had his best representative in Khawājah Alṭāf Ḥusain *Ḥalī* (1837-1914), the famous Urdū poet, critic and prose writer, author of the valuable *Musaddas*. The charm of Ghālib's Muse lies in the sublimity of thought, intensity of emotion and diversity of theme. His poetry, though intrinsically philosophic, is essentially lyrical and traditionally erotic in

character Ghālib's verse is marked by high lyrical quality and his lyricism, with its clear note of pessimism, carries emotion and vivacity as its two chief elements. With the emotional vein running through his poems, there is deep and delicate pathos in the poetry of Ghālib ; and pathos, no doubt, is the highest quality in art. One is overwhelmed by the pathos of his poems which voice our loneliness, our isolation, our need for the friend who never comes yet is not entirely disproved.

Characteristic of the times in which he lived, Ghālib's verse is marked by a pessimistic strain, with a moral appeal to retain some of the good time-honoured values. Revolting against all literary standards and renouncing the traditional poetic ideal such a favourite of the poets, Iqbāl takes to a different route and follows a path of his own. Departing from the established traditions of old, Iqbāl parts writh meaningless hyperbolism and rhetoric and breaks the shackles of lifeless poetical fomalities and subtilties, having little bearing on Life and its exigencies. He makes his factual poetry the vehicle of his lofty thoughts and noble ideals. Essentially revolutionary in spirit and constructive in nature, Iqbāl's verse is characterized by the poet's profound humanity, with a happy note of calm optimism ringing through his poetry.

Racially a Turk and tracing his descent to a Turkish stock, Mirza Ghālib is the last Persian poet of the sub-continent in the fast decaying imperial Mughal times. Disregarding and even belittling his own sublime Urdu poetry, Ghālib himself had a high opinion of his noble Persian verse, and recognised as competent only one other master, Amir Khusrau (1253-1325 A.D.),

the renowned Persian poet of the earlier Delhi Sultanate, who had borne a Turkish lineage like the former. Standing as he does at the crossroads of the two different periods of India's history, Ghālib is simultaneously a classical and a contemporary poet of great eminence, occupying a high place of distinction among the great figures of world literatures. Ghālib, the acknowledged monarch of the realm of verse, is the poet of existential agony and a visionary who dreamt of a stable humanity, and could serve as the guide to the faithless and disillusioned world of today.

Numerous and varied are the commentaries that have been written on Ghālib's widely read Urdu *Dīwān* by a number of eminent Indian scholars and critics. The poet Ghālib lived contemporaneously with the greatest of German poets, Goethe (1749-1832). The late Dr. 'Abdur Raḥman of Bijnor, a noted Indian scholar and critic, has made an interesting comparative study of Ghālib and Goethe in his critical, but highly appreciative, survey, entitled *Moḥāsin-e-Kalām-i-Ghālib* (The Beauties of Ghālib's Poetry). While Dante purified and enriched the Italian language by his classical poems, such as *Vita Nuova* and ***Divine** Commedia*, it was Ghālib who greatly polished and developed the Urdu language with his sublime verse and noble prose. Admittedly, Ghālib is one of the outstanding figures of Urdū literature: he is also a very important figure in Persian literature. On the foundations raised by Ghālib the other master-builders, including Azād, Chakbast and a host of eminent poets, prose writers and authors, built up edifices ; while other giant-architects, like Shiblī, Ḥalī and several other great poets, writers and authors, erected skyscrapers.

Modern engineers, engaged in planning sketches of letters and raising super-structures of literary works, are but building further and higher on the foundations laid earlier by Ghālib. Ghālib, the lord of Urdu language and the supreme poetic genius, has left behind a noble literary legacy and a glorious poetic tradition. He is the master-jewel in the necklace of Urdu literature, standing prominent in the galaxy of accomplished artists and immortal poets.

In one of the poems of his earliest notable Urdu work, *Bang-i-Dara*, Iqbāl pays an eloquent tribute to that superb Poetic genius and compares Ghālib to Sa'di of Shiraz and Goethe's of Weimar. In a way, Iqbāl's poem reminds one of Goethe's *Epilog zu Schiller's Glocke* —the splendid tribute to the memory and genius of his fellow-poet, Schiller. The poem "Mirza Ghālib" is a sublime eulogy of the kind in Urdu literature, being a tribute of admiration to a poet from a fellow poet.

Ghālib was the last of the line of Indian poets and thinkers who belonged to the old school of thought and stood for traditional literary values. With a few other master-craftsmen. Ghālib anticipates the approaching modern age, with its changed tendencies and new ways of thinking. Ghālib, just as Iqbāl, is one of those few poets who are so difficult to understand his poetic thought, so artistically garbed, being marked by sublime feeling and rich depth of meaning. His genius lent a touch of universal appeal and brought a distinctly personal charm to his verse, and Ghālib today stands forth as one of the great poets of all times. Crossing as it does the national boundaries of the native land, Ghālib's noble poetry, like the sublime poetry of

Iqbāl, transcends the barriers of time and the confines of space and comes to command a peculiar universal appeal and a right international appreciation.

In Iqbāl one finds a happy, though strange—rather inexplicable—blending of what is the best in Western and Eastern cultures : his was a versatile genius and his Personality a dynamic one, his mind deep and complex, and his heart profound. He combined in his person, so rarely found in a single individual, all that was best in Western and Eastern sciences, and in him a keen observer sees the confluence of the two mighty oceans, this happily bringing into focus an idea of the poet as a unique synthesis of the thought of the East and the West.

As a world messenger, with a vital message for mankind, Iqbāl has still more to give than what the moderns may seem to take from him. The tempests in him want oceans for their subsidence, and the seas in his soul find little space in rivers and streams.

[49] در نمی گنجد بجو عمان من
بحرها باید پئے طوفان من

"No river will contain my 'Oman :
My flood requires whole seas to hold it."

Iqbāl encourages the younger generation and puts heart in them, exhorting them to action and telling that there are in them the dormant possibilities of an irresistible tempestuous flood against which colossal mountains are just as warering

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49. *Asrar-i-Khudi* (*Tamhid*). The Sea of 'Oman is a name given by the Arabs to the Persian Gulf.

straws in the waves of a stormy ocean. They still have a leading part to play in the creation of a new world and the construction of a new World Order, should they only once care to become conscious of their original noble status and realise their true position.

[50]اندرون تست سیلے بے پناہ
پیش او کوہ گراں مانند کاہ

"Thou encompasseth within thyself a flood
irresistible !

A firm-footed mountain becomes but a husk
before it."

Iqbāl's strength lies not as a poet or thinker but as a teacher of humanity. There could possibly be no more eloquent, no more fitting tribute to the great poet's genius and his work than the one paid by the noted Indian Persian poet, Maulānā Ghulām Qādir *Girami* , saying that those with their vision fixed on reality appreciate that Iqbāl, by means of his constructive philosophy and prophetic message, so richly springing from Divine source, fulfilled the noble mission of a Prophet, a Messenger from God. In the same strain, the learned poet adds : but, the advent of a Prophet after the Last Prophet being impossible, Iqbāl could not be called or represented as such :

در دیدۂ معنی نگہاں حضرت اقبال
پیغمبری کرد و پیمبر نتواں گفت

50. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq ?*

* This famous verse occurs in the *Dīwan* of Maulana Ghulam Qadir *Girami*, the eminent Persian poet of modern India, hailing from the Punjab.

"In the eyes of those, who have their vision
fixed on reality :

Iqbāl conveyed a message, but he could
not be called a Messenger of God."

Iqbāl is one of the greatest poets and philosophers of the world of all time. As a teacher he is assured of an honoured place among teachers of the world. Without indulging in uncritical laudation, it can safely be asserted that his works (particularly his marvellous Persian work, *Jāwed Nāmah*) could be compared with the greatest and highest world classics and rightly held equal to such high works of world fame as the Persian poet Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah*, the Greek poet Homer's *Iliad*, the Italian poet Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the German poet Goethe's *Faust*, and the English poet Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

"THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF "SATAN"

Now, a few words about the poem, an English interpretation of which, followed by a fairly extensive running commentary, is being presented to the readers ! The end of the poet's life found him a poet, more serene and mellow, but eloquent as of yore. "The Advisory Council of Satan," the most valuable of Iqbāl's last poems, mostly composed on his sick-bed, is an extremely interessting, profoundly constructive and most original poem in Urdu. Written late in 1936, in the last days of his life, this is Iqbal's last important Urdū poem, This highly philosophical poem, entitled *Iblīs kī Majlis-i-Shū'rā* in the original Urdū, is a fragment from the Urdù portion of *Armughān-i-Ḥijāz* (The Gift of the Hedjaz), the last poetic work of Iqbāl. Fully representative of Iqbāl's message

to humanity at large, the major part of this book is devoted to inspiring quatrains in Persian, appearing in five separate sections, under different headings. A composition of the poet's parting days and a posthumous work, the book saw the light of publication after the author's death.

Owing to its important and useful contents, and because of the significant message it carries for humanity, this excellent poem arouses, nay compels, the readers' profound interest and curiosity. Besides serving as an eye-opener to the present-day Muslims, in so far as it awakens them to the disastrous consequences of their ostrich-like attitude and their straying activities, opens their eyes to the true spirit of the Faith and exhorts them to their real goal and mission, the noble poem guides humanity —now in the midst of the welter of modern isms and at pains to discover a constructive ideal message of peace and progress—to the happy region where reigns supreme all that is best and Divine in man.

Iqbāl's original poem, aptly captioned *Iblīs kī Majlis-i-Shū'rā* constitutes a masterpiece of poetic art and is a marvel of Urdū poetry. The short, but full, poem exercises great fascination over the mind, in that it eminently unites speculation and emotion in perfect harmony, which is a characteristic feature of Iqbāl's powerful verse This small, yet comprehensive, poem presents a supreme blending of imagination and emotion, and illustrates a happy fusion of higher thought and nobler poesy. With its choice diction, graceful setting, serene romantic atmosphere and imposing dramatic background, this beautiful poem carries special significance today. The inspiring poem has a deep meaning for the entire humanity and specially for the

Muslims. It bears a spirited message of movement and represents a clarion call to action especially for the Musalmān.

Prompted by considerations of its practical usefulness and its significance for the modern world and the prospect of its proving an eye-opener to the younger Muslim generations, and also because of the strong appeal it has to the heart and the tremendous fascination it exerts on the mind, a venture has been made to present a sufficiently annotated English Translation of this most interesting and instructive poem to the English-reading public, not conversant with the Urdū language, who are not able to understand or appreciate adequately the merits and worth of the poem in the original, almost untranslatable in its unsurpassing beauty.

The reader will find that the constructive message of world security and peace, which today mankind is striving for, is but the true realisation of the teachings of Islam. It is beautifully brought out by the 'Poet of Humanity' in the form of a parable contained in this great poem. The practical philosophy of Iqbāl has its vital aim of developing the latent forces and potentialities inherent in man, so that a commanding personality may find manifestation. Subduing and dominating Nature's forces, such a person would wage war against Evil until he eliminates it and secures the victory of Virtue and destroys the scheme of things as run by Satanic Organsation. The driving force behind this organisation is the Devil himself, who is the central figure in this immortal poem. Satan, who arrogates to himself the credit for the charm of this world, dominates the theme of the poem, playing triumphantly the leading role of the chief character in a dramatic performance.

Coming to the concluding portion of the sublime poem, the reader comes upon the enlightening comments and instructive remarks of the Arch-Devil, as President of the Advisory Council, on the views of his Counsellors, the principal speakers at the meeting. There he meets with a clear evidence of the spiritual force and dynamism of Islam and of the appeal it has for the unbiassed mind.

Strongly critical of Western systems and of enervating conventions, Iqbāl is no satirist in the accepted, conventional sense. The poem is marked by a subtle ironic strain and possesses the essential elements of a satire. It contains many a brilliant satirical flash, and the poet's fine sarcasm captures the mind just as it takes hold of the heart. Iqbal is at once unsparing and impartial in his criticism, and this poem does well reflect on the civilization of materialist Europe and on its institutions, exposing the hollowness of the modern man's ways of thinking and working, as well as bringing out the follies and vices of the present-day decadent Muslims. Passages in the poem are indicative of a characteristic trend in Iqbāl's poetry, initiating the movement of *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) in Oriental literature.

The writer's humble endeavours, contained in this English Translation and Commentary, are conceived, as pointed out in the first Preface, as tribute to the memory and imperishable work of Iqbāl, his invaluable service to the cause of Islām, his unflinching faithful devotion to that religion, and above all his selfless service to humanity in modern times. Here is, to put it in a nut-shell, the substance of the profoundly inspiring poem

to enable the readers to form an idea as to its sublime subject-matter.

Iqbāl, in this extremely thoughtful and thought-provoking poem, beautifully depicts the picture of a conference in session, attended by some of Satan's leading Counsellors, and the Arch-fiend himself presiding over its deliberations. In a manner most characteristic of him, the poet lucidly brings out, from the lips of the Devil, the essence of the sublime teachings of Islām. There are introduced illuminating references by the Counsellors of the Arch-Devil to modern socio-politico-economic movements, creeds and ideologies, along with an elucidation of their implications and direct bearings on the cultural life of peoples and on state administrations. All this is intended to hold out prospects of bitter conflicts and most furious armed clashes amongst the nations, to the joy of the gleeful Devil and his agents. The teachings of the Islāmic Faith alone, the poet-sage maintains, are feared by the hellish Prince of Darkness lest these eventually should inevitably be accepted, to his sorrow and despair, by a world which has greatly suffered for its over-reliance on the sufficiency of human intellect and its reasoning and guiding capacity. Satan is exultant, since the world has ignored the vital fact of its essential need of an unfailing practical guidance afforded by the perfect religion of *Islām*.

The writer's object in offering to the general educated public this annotated English Translation of the immortal poem by the great poet-philosopher is to make the constructive message 'Allāma Iqbāl more widely accessible to the world and thus contribute to its further dissemination. This message is

fundamentally in its spirit but the inspiring Message of Islam. The writer trusts that this modest work will find increased favour with the appreciative readers. It is fervently hoped this small effort on the writer's part would receive due appreciation and encouragement from men of literary tastes, especially from the admirers of Iqbāl, in the East as well as the West, and from the Muslim intelligentsia for whom the poet's noble message is particularly meant.

Who could predict the coming of another Iqbāl, who might sing, in so spontaneous rich notes and so happy inspiring strains, the glory of Islām that was once !

[51] سرود رفتہ باز آید کہ ناید !
نسیمے از حجاز آید کہ ناید !

"The departed melody may or may not recur :
The zephyr from Hijaz may or may not blow."

Iqbāl was awake to the spiritual impoverishment and intellectual poverty of his community, and was doubtful of the advent of another seer for centuries. How pathetically his soul cries out !

[52] دگر داناۓ راز آید کہ ناید !

"Another seer may or may not arrive !"

It is only after centuries that a nation is happily blessed with by the birth of a man of Iqbāl's calibre whose advent may herald its spiritual emancipation and political liberation. Indeed, Nature takes many a century to evolve a man of vision !

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51 & 52. *Armughan-i-Hijaz (Huzur-i-Haq).*

[53]ہزاروں سال نرگس اپنی بے نوری پہ روتی ہے
بڑی مشکل سے ہوتا ہے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

"For centuries does the narcissus lament its lightlessness :

After a long period of excruciating pangs, the garden sees the birth of a man of vision."

Still more beautifully, more forcefully the poet expresses the idea :

[54]عمر ها در کعبه و بت خانه می نالد حیات
تا ز بزم عشق یک دانائے راز آید برون !

"For ages does Life bewail in the *Ka'bah* and the *Temple* :

Then from Love's dominion a seer emerges."

We are called upon to destroy the existing indecent and unjust World Order and to replace it by the truly decent and just Divine World Order of Islām, and thus ensure true freedom, peace, justice, unity and happiness for all humanity. Only after that happy era has been inaugurated and this world has turned into an earthly paradise, can we hope humane science, true civilization and true religion would have their real existence and make progress to the benefit of mankind.

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53. *Bang-i-Dara* (The Sound of the Caravan Bell).
54. *Zabur-i-'Ajam* (Part II).

[55]تا تہ و بالا نہ گردد ایں نظام
دانش و تہذیب و دیں سودائے خام !

"Unless is revolutionised the present Order :
Science, civilization, and religion are craze futile !"

We might well recite with Khawājah Ḥāfiz his enthralling verse, as if said by Iqbāl himself, and invoke God's infinite mercy and blessing on the noble soul of Iqbāl, the humanist and upholder of the cause of humanity. May his soul rest in celestial peace and his spirit live for ever !

بر سر تربت ما چون گذری همت خواه
که زیارت گہ رندان جہاں خواهد بود*

"When thou happenst to pass by our tomb, bereech Divine favour :

For it would be a frequenting shrine for the world's God-intoxicated people."

اے بسا شاعر کہ بعد از مرگ زاد
چشم خود بر بست و چشم ما کشاد

—اقبال

"Lo ! After death, to be sure, there many a poet was born :
The poets who, though they had closed their eyes, opened ours wide as morn."

55. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard, Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq ?*
* Quoted from the *Diwan.*

من نوائے شاعرِ فرداستم

—اقبال

"Nay, I'm the voice of the Poet of the Morrow!"

چو رخت خویش بر بستم ازیں خاک
همه گفتند با ما آشنا بود

و لیکن کس ندانست ایں مسافر
چه گفت و با که گفت و از کجا بود

—اقبال

When I departed, bidding this earth adieu;
"With him were we acquainted," said all they:
The purpose of this pilgrim but comprehended few;
'Whence he came, whom he addressed, what he did say!'

EXPLANATORY NOTES

EXPLANATORY NOTES

S. NUMBERS of the Comments under the Explanatory Notes follow the same order of S. Nos. as given in the English renderings preceding the Notes.

COMMENTS:

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF SATAN

(*IBLSI KI MAJLIS-I-SHURĀ*)

The first six opening verses of this beautiful noble poem, which forms one long subtle irony, purport to be an illuminating and thought-provoking presidential address to the Advisory Council by the Arch-Devil, the worthy Chairman. The first stanza of the poem inaugurates the proceedings of the meeting of Satan's Council of Action. The stanza, as such, forms a fitting instructive prologue to the drama.

IBLIS (The Arch-Devil)

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1. This ancient interplay of the elements, this vile world ! The frustration[1] of the longings of the great Empyrean's dwellers.

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1. This verse is significant, since it recalls the story of the creation of Adam. The line, at first, may give the impression that when they were told of the forthcoming creation of Man, destined to be God's Vicegerent on Earth, the Angels were overwhelmed with a sense of self-humiliation, for they seemed to have seen in that their own aspirations being dashed. A careful study of the relevant Qur'an-verses (part I, *surah* ii, See 4

verses 30-32), however, suggests an interpretation to the line which is in tune with the spirit of the Qur'anic teaching and moreover in accord with the general trend of Iqbal's philosophy.

We must not imagine the least tinge of jealousy on the part of the Angels who, being holy and pure and without emotion, could not feel jealous of Man, invested with the office of Divine Vicegerency. No did the Angels mean to question the wisdom of God's action in creating Man as His Vicegerent on Earth, when they said that 'He was placing one on earth who would make mischief therein and shed blood.' It was in humility and true devotion to God that the Angels remonstrated at the creation of Man. Endued with emotions as Man was to be, those emotions could lead him to the highest and drag him to the lowest. The power of will or choosing would have to go with them, in order that man might steer his own bark. In fact, being without emotions, of which the highest flower is love, the Angels in their one-sidedness saw only the mischief consequent upon the misuse of the emotional nature by Man. Obviously, the Angels had no independent wills of their own and, for all their perfection in other ways, they could not attain, or even aspire, to the status of Divine Vicegerency.

The idea that the Angels saw a frustration of their own hopes and aspirations in the creation of Man and his rise to the dignity of Divine Vicegerency may, therefore, be safely dismissed as fantastic. On the other hand, the Angels recognised Man's greatness, his worth and his capacities, and in obedience to God's Command even bowed down to Adam. Indeed, a high destiny was intended for Man. It was in his capacity as Vicar of God up on Earth that the Angels had pinned their pious

2. Upon its destruction[2] is bent today that Fashioner of things :

Who gave it the name, "the world of 'Let there be'."

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hopes on Man and built their earnest desires and expectations on him and put their implicit faith in his credentials. They had anticipated that Man would be loyal to his solemn pledge to play faithfully the noble role assigned to him and would acquit himself fairly of the obligations arising therefrom He was expected to execute the Will of God and establish it firmly upon earth in defiance of all obstructions put in his way : he was to suppress, discipline and destroy the forces of Evil confronting him in the accomplishment of his noble mission, so that Right could prevail against Wrong But, as time wore on, Man's sense of personal responsibility weakened and he grew indifferent and negligent to his responsibilities. When by his perversity and by allowing himself to be seduced and guided by Satan, Man deliberately took to evil ways of thinking and living, and then wrought havoc and caused disturbances upon the earth, the hopes the Angels had had in him were extinguished and the longings they had fondly nurtured on Man's capacities as God's Vicegerent on Earth were all frustrated. Empyrean (*'Arsh*) is the Highest, Sublime Heaven where lies the Throne of God, the Most High.

2. The world saw its existence at the behest of the Almighty, coming into being at the bidding of its Creator. With the march of time, men came to pursue a course which ran counter to God's Will. Their rebellious ways of life at long last aroused God's Wrath and it consequently descended upon them with a

3. I inspired in the European the dream of Imperialism:[3]
I broke the spell[4] of the Mosque, the Temple, and the Church.

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fury, perhaps unprecedented in the history of mankind. The gigantic armed conflict of 1939-45, raging between two hostile camps of big Powers, which had enveloped practically the entire earthly globe, threatened a destruction of the world, created with a purpose and so elegantly fashioned by the Creator.

3. It was a most tragic phenomenon in the history of modern Europe, when the Western nations were swayed by the unholy ambitions of world conquest and world domination. The development of Western Imperialism, engendered by a self-interested and aggressive nationalism brought in its wake an unscrupulous exploitation of the subjugated nations and their ruthless domination by the imperialist European Powers. The imperialist Powers of Europe, in order to appease their insatiable 'hunger for land' have pursued a course of wanton aggression against harmless and defenceless lands and carried on the odious task of their annexation to their own countries and the enslavement of their peoples, thus creating colonies and securing territorial aggrandizement of their own empires.

4. A retrospective glance at the history of world-peoples would illustrate what tremendous and profound fascination religion has exerted on people's minds and the firm hold it has had on masses from time immemorial and the important part it has played in the life not only of the individual but also in the life of states and nations. Majestic temples and pagodas in India and elsewhere, grand and beautiful mosques in the world, and

4. I instructed the destitutes in the lesson of Destiny :[5]

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big churches and synagogues in the West found to this day, erected as living monuments to different religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism—all bear eloquent testimony to the popular religious devotion of ages past The tenacious efforts of the Devil and his wicked followers have considerably contributed to the development and establishment of the powerful material civilization of the West, utterly godless and anti-religious in spirit and character and consequently the influence of all known religious systems, one finds today, has been greatly damaged and almost destroyed. In the existing World Order, with Satan's master genius as the driving and sustaining force, the prestige of religion is unhappily undermined beyond repair.

5. Reduced to dire economic poverty, with their mentality debased owing to age-long political serfdom and intellectual enslavement, the unfortunate destitutes come to regard their present environment as final and develop the fatalistic disposition to surrender themselves meekly to the so-called decrees of Fate. Fighting shy of struggle in life, with no urge to shed their lethargy to improve their lot, they resign to fate and interpret their unenviable condition in terms of the ineffacable writ of destiny. This wrong, disastrous doctrine of destiny is the lesson so deeply inculcated in the decadent Eastern natious by the instruction of Satan which has cost the peoples of the East their political virility, economic independence and religious ardour.

I infused into the wealthy the craze for Capitalism [6]

5. Who dare quench[7] the devouring blaze in him:

Whose tumults are stimulated by the inherent passion of Satan ?

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6. Germs have always been there to encourage the growth of capitalistic tendencies in people and to tempt the Jewish capitalists to further accumulation and hoarding of wealth. The climax to the antagonism between Capital and Labour, which at last realised its own miserable situation when conditions grew worse for the latter, is found in modern Soviet Russia, where government of the proletariat was established after the overthrow of the Czarist regime. The fact remains that the fiendish Tempter, by infusing an unappeasable passion for capitalism into the prosperous, has been the cause of many a bloody strife on earth.

7. The movement gathers momentum, the poem rapidly growing in dramatic force. In the struggle between the two diametrically opposed forces—a clash which dates back to the very advent of man in this world—the Wrong has at times gained the upper hand, but eventually it was the Right that with its mighty spiritual and moral power triumphed and carried the day. How audacious is the hellish Prince of Darkness to dispute the overlordship of God and assert his own claim to direct the world and manage its affairs! How boldly the haughty Devil declares that the people, inspired, guided and supported by him and his party, cannot fail in the devilish

6. Who could summon up the courage to bend
down the aged palm :

Whose branches their height to our watering owe ?

FIRST COUNSELLOR

7. Stable is the Satanic System, no doubt there is !

It has further strengthened in the commoners
their slavishness indeed !

8. Since Eternity have these helpless mortals been
ordained to prostration :

Prayer devoid of the posture of standing erect
is their nature's constant urge.

9. In their heart no desire can in fact take its
birth :

But if it does, perchance, it dies or is left
unripe.

10. What wonders have our hard, persistent
endeavours wrought !

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schemes they might be tempted to embark upon and no resistance, however stubborn, put up to them by a few righteous men could prevent them from executing their wicked designs ! Here is what virtually constitutes a bold vigorous challenge

Today finds the 'mystics and the priests'[8] all as
subjects of Imperialism.

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flung by the proud Lucifer against the world, rather against the few God-intoxicated Faithful, men of God, now left in this world. Are there those who may come forward to meet the challenge thus issued ?

8. Having lost their contact with the pristine Islam, the religiously inclined people, after their own bents of mind and also to satisfy the spiritual yearnings of the masses of Muslims, formed themselves into two separate groups. The Muslim mystics, the *Ṣūfīs*, concentrated their attention on the so-called reality of the religion and directed their energies solely to the elevation of the soul and the growth of psychic activity, relegating the material side of the religion to the background ; while the Muslim divines, the *Maulvis*, were mostly concerned more with the appearance of the religion than with its spirit and its purpose.

The mischief thus caused to the body-politic of Islam by the extremist tendencies of the two groups, being inimical to the very spirit of Islam, was tremendous and of far-reaching consequences to the Muslim world. With the development of Western Imperialism and its subsequent triumphant dominance in the Eastern countries, mystics' attention was distracted from the so-called reality of religion, and priests were no longer influenced by its externals, both being profoundly fascinated by the dazzling exterior of powerful European Imperialism, representing a civilization possessing an extremely brilliant surface. This lamentable situation is largely due to the ceaseless strenuous efforts of the Devil and his wicked adherents.

11. Suited to the disposition of the East was this opium[9] indeed :

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9. The history of the East illustrates tremendous impression the personality of a monarch has always created on his subjects. People were deeply swayed by the idea of homage to a higher personality in which their deep-rooted passion for devotion and worship found its satisfaction. Being thus disposed and ever prone to submit allegiance to authority, they were apt to succumb to the charm of European Imperialism. They passively yieded to the mandate of Western Imperialism and the intoxicating effect of its hold on them has sent them to a sleep which almost knows no waking.

The method of philosophy known as *al-Kalām*, literally meaning speech, dialectics, had as its primary object the philosophical formulation of religious beliefs and postulates. This theological philosophy, as developed by the Muslim rationalists, has come to represent a philosophized system of religious thought that is different from pure philosophy which treats of the same profound questions regardless and independent of all religious connections and implications. It also differs from rigid traditionalism upheld by orthodoxy which would allow of no compromise, warranted by expediency.

The devotees of the peculiar tendency, *i.e.*, *at-tasawwuf* (Ṣūfism, the 'Islāmic Mysticism'), called the Ṣūfīs, took a radically different view of the Faith and its principles. Attacking both *al-Kalām*, with its dialectical quibbles, and the formalism of practical religion, they penetrated into the most profound

mysteries (*asrār*) of religious *sentiment*, thus rising to the most sublime conception of the idea of God. Generally, these mystics strove to perfect their souls in an ascetic conduct of life, renouncing earthly goods (*zuhd*), and in the neglect of corporeal life. With their notions mostly borrowed from non-Islāmic sources, Christian as well as Hindu, and with the mystic Love of God as their ultimate aim, presented as their idea of true faith, they sadly departed from the original conception and teaching of Islām, losing sight of its true spirit and deviating from its real purpose.

The theological philosophy evolved by the Muslim scholastic theologians, with their indulgence in a wordplay, and the various ramifications of Ṣūfism developed into regular Ṣūfic systems by the Muslim mystics, with *qawwālī* or droning psalm, cultivated as one of the features of the established Ṣūfī practice, were equally responsible for the ultimate decadence of the later Muslims. Their teachings and practices were highly alluring—consequently tending to Self-effacement—inasmuch as they held out to the Muslim masses a promise of freedom from the rigorous discipline of the Islāmic Law and gradually led the Muslims to the sad abandonment of the application of the original teachings of Islām to real practical life.

Time has changed conditions and such things—relics of the past—as *qawwāli* of the Persian Ṣūfīs and the theological philosophy (*al-Kalam*) of the scholastic theologians have lost their influence over people. Nowadays, the dominating European Imperialism is the only force which possesses the charm by which it has captured the imagination not only of the plebeians but of mystics and priests as well, In this connexion, refer to the preceding Note.

Otherwise '*Ilm-i-Kalam*[10] is no less Self-effacing than *Qawwali*[11] in effect.

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10. As an anti-climax to the spiritual activities of the Muslim mystics, the Muslim divines were keen on following purely intellectual pursuits. The intellectual advancement of the Muslims during the Abbaside Caliphate brought the learned persons in contact with the systems of Greek philosophy. The meanderings of Neo-Platonic philosophy which loomed in the minds of Muslim theologians from the fourth century after the *Hijrah* onwards produced a class of scholastic theologians, known as *Mutakallimīn*, who founded their own system of theological philosophy, called '*Ilm-i-Kalām*, and employed it as a force of argument in defence of religion.

11. The pristine purity and erstwhile simplicity of the Faith having become foreign to them, the Muslim mystics, influenced by non-Islāmic mystical creeds, evolved their peculiar schools of so-called spiritual illumination and expansion—the various systems of Ṣūfī technique. *Qawwālī*, that is, religious singing, figured prominently in the features of their spiritual programme. Music in general has no place in Muslim worship. Though otherwise favoured by the Sūfīs as a means of spiritual elevation, *qawwālī* is only allowed by the more sober of them under certain restrictions. It has generally been regarded by the '*Ulamā*', and by Iqbāl himself, as an enervating or demoralising influence. Here both *al-Kalām* and *qawwālī* are equally disapproved, even condemned, by Iqbāl for their consequential fatal effects on Muslims.

It was deliberately conceived to correspond to the Ṣūfis' peculiar psychic taste : it consisted in an assembly of devotees inspired by the same spiritual ideal. They gave themselves up to singing odes and poems in praise of Eternal Beauty, playing the

12. What matters it, if the tumult of the Pilgrimage[12] and *Tawaf*[13] abides ?

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while at musical instruments. Their emotions over-excited by those movements, an inexplicable rapturous mood overtook them and quite occasionally they would fall in fits of ecstasy and were even unconscious of their unconsciousness.

12. The true spirit of religion has for the past several centuries ceased to display itself in the life of the Muslims. The religion itself has degenerated into mere lip-profession and an observance of formalities and appearances, with no moral urge with it. A great many of Muslims still undertake a pilgrimage (*Hajj*) to Mecca and visit the holy places of Islām. These practices do little to revive Islam or to regenerate the Muslims and awaken in them a genuine religious sense.

The pilgrimage to Mecca constitutes one of the well-known five principal tenets or pillars (*arkān*) of Islām upon which its socio-religious structure is built. These five prominent points exemplify the principal aspects of a right-guided life, and have thus been elevated to symbols of the entire circle of human existence, with the idea of God's Oneness as its centre. The system of Islam based on the five cardinal tenets enables man to reproduce, within the limits of his earthly life, the unity of Idea and Action

Besides its deep religious significance, the grand international institution of Islamic pilgrimage bears far-reaching social and political implications, ultimately leading to the erection of the Islāmic Common-wealth as a practical proposition, in order that the rule of the Divine Law be established on Earth. The supreme importance of the Islāmic pilgrimage is dealt with at some length in Note 47, which may well be referred to by the reader.

For, rendered blunt, lies unused the sheathless
scimitar[14] of the *Faithful*.

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13. *Tawāf* that is circumambulation, the ceremony of going round the holy *Ka'bah*, House of God (*bait ullāh*) in Mecca, is one of the essential rituals (*manasik*) obligatory on the Muslim pilgrims to the sacred City—*Ḥujjāj* sing. *Ḥājī*, one performing the Ḥajj pilgrimage to Mecca.

The institution of the *Tawāf* makes it an indispensable obligation of the Muslim pilgrim to walk seven times round the *Ka'bah* the observance of the injunction being one of the three most e sential points in the Islāmic pilgrimage. The significance of showing our devotion in such a peculiar way lies in the fact that by going in a circular movement around the *Ka'bah* we establish it as the central point of our action. The *Tawāf* symbolizes the activity of human life and means that not only our devotional thoughts, but also our practical life must have the idea of God and His Oneness for their centre.

14. That Islām is bent upon propagation of religion with the sword is an old charge levelled against Islām, by its adversaries. Nothing is farther from truth than this. Moral knowledge, according to the teachings of Islām, automatically forces moral responsibility upon man. A mere Platonic discernment between Right and Wrong, without the urge to promote the Right and to destroy the Wrong, is a gross immorality in itself. In Islam, morality lives and dies with the human endeavour to establish its victory upon earth.

And equally baselessis is the inimical critics' charge that in the socio-religious system of Islām all tolerance is expediently thrown to the winds. For in the original polity of Islām, which

is so conspicuous for its culture-producing function and society-shaping factor, the limits of religious tolerance are fairly defined, since no compulsion is allowed and no coercive measures are approved in the matter of religion* the conversion to and acceptance of the Faith left entirely open to the free conscience and the receptive soul of an individual person. Man is free to exercise his legitimate right of freewill and to use deliberately and prudently his own intellect, in order to decide which way to choose—that of Guidance or of Darkness !

It is altogether a misconception and an absurd idea that the spread and progress of Islam in its earlier centuries was largely due to the sword. In no way can the sword affect the consciences of men, nor can a faith be forcibly thrust upon unwilling and unreceptive souls ! The ultimate causes responsible for the amazing success of Islām, its splendid progress and rapid rise, are to be sought elsewhere—in its sublime practical teachings, in its Divine origin and its wise persuasive appeal, in the noble Life-example of its illustrious Prophet, and in the exemplary life of the earliest devout Muslims in the true Islāmic Society and State, having the Prophet, the Last apostolic Guide, at the head and the Orthodox Caliphs as the Leaders. The great period of Islām which should be studied was not that of the magnificent Empires of Damascus, Baghdad, Cardova, Istanbul, and Delhi, but of the simple democratic community of the first four Caliphs, with al-Madinah as the seat of the original Muslim State.

Some of the Western critics of Iqbāl would call him a modern advocate of aggressive Islām. The allegation is simply wrong, and the charge against the poet is not to be justified. In truth, no Muslim observing the laws of Sharī'at could ever be an

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*See the Qur'an—verse 3, sec. 1, s. ii. P. III.

advocate of war. *Jihād*, fighting in God's Cause, would be resorted to mainly in two cases, *viz.* self-defence and establishment of conditions of universal peace and the regime of law in human society. In the first case, when Muslims are tyrannized over and driven out of their homes, they are permitted to go to arms. The second case in which *Jihād* is obligatory is what may be termed as the 'preservation of collective security,' in which all nations are free to think, act and live according to their own ways, within limits as defined by the Law of Islām.

Jihād becomes binding on the community when conditions tend to become such, though a menace from the enemies of Islām, as to make it hard, even impossible, for Muslims to live according to the tenets of the True Faith. Islām means to limit and minimise the use of physical force, and does not seek to go beyond that. The history of the present-day nations, with their frequent mutual clashes, is an evidence that so long as the 'Ego' of nations is not subordinated to the Laws of God, world peace must remain an unrealised dream. Thus, war is unlawful in Islam, if it is waged for appeasement of 'land-hunger,' or for propagation of the faith.

A missionary religion, with its proselytising activity, Islām plays a two-fold role, defensive as well as offensive. But, such activity is not prompted or motivated by Imperialism ; it has nothing to do with imperialist designs. And, this struggle has not as its foremost or ultimate aim mass conversions at the point of the bayonet, nor has it ever meant creating privileged groups at the cost of other peoples. The pristine Islam does not foster ambitions of imperialist conquests and does not countenance aspirations for territorial expansions. Its true polity is not to be discovered in the so-called imperialism and material aggran-

dizement of any triumphant and dominant Muslim nation, but to be sought only in the early rightly-guided Caliphate (*Khilā-fat ar-Rāshidah*).

The primary objective of Islām, with its apparent aggressivism, is but the creation of an ideal human society which should serve as an excellent practical pattern for the entire mankind to follow. That the sword of Islam has very considerably contributed to the moral and material progress of mankind is an historical fact. The Faithful, who, in ages long past, drew swords for the defence of the True Religion against the onslaughts of defiant Infidels, God's sworn enemies, owed much of their former greatness and glory to endeavours of such exacting nature as *jihād*.

The sword that had long been sheathless, drawn and used for the promotion of an ideal, the sole purpose of the Muslims' creation and their existence in the world, was no longer employed in the pursuit of its noble objective for which it was originally meant. The scimitar of the Muslims was thus rendered blunt, and with its bluntness it was directed to destroying the Muslims' own solidarity. They came under the disastrous influence of the forces of disintegration which, while masquerading as reformist movements, constituted a perpetual menace to their political solidarity and cultural integrity.

On the other hand, European nations took a mighty step forward, took to a wild race for armaments and armed themselves to the teeth with the recent, most formidable scientific weapons both offensive and definsive, of modern warfare, stealthily penetrating into Muslim countries and rapidly extending their domination over the lands of Islām.

13. Whose despair does this latest Ordinance[15]
prove ?

"To the Muslim in this age is forbidden 'fighting
in the Lord's name' !"

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15. No social system can work efficiently, if it excludes political power allied with military might from its organism. In Islām, where *power* is subordinated to the construction of a worldly frame for the best possible spiritual and material development of mankind and the preservation of collective security, *jihād* assumes an importance of its own and is primarily undertaken for the promotion of an ideal regarded by its torchbearers as the sublime religious truth forming basis of the only just and practical system of polity—the Islamic socio-political organisation. In the orthodox Muslim opinion the institution of *jihād* ranks only after the fundamental five main (*arkān*) pillars of Islām, and so has it been ever since Islām first set out to convert and conquer the world, and began to expand its power and influence over the world.

For the first time in our days was the importance of the institution of *jihād* as a rallying and vitalising factor in the life of Muslims disputed and even challenged by certain reactionary groups. Unfortunately, that attitude established itself with the appearance of a bastard movement lately engineered by a clique of self-interested persons, traitors to Islām. This movement denies to the Muslims in modern times the right to take up arms in defence of the religion in order to uphold its cause and prohibits the use of force in its service, though it is illogical enough to concede that right to modern Europe,

SECOND COUNSELLOR

14. Is the clamour for "Government by the people" evil or good ?

Little aware art thou what fresh mischiefs are about the world !

FIRST COUNSELLOR

15. Aware am I ! but reassure me my cosmic foresight :

No danger from what is but a masquerade for Imperialism.

16. We ourselves have dressed Autocracy in the garb of Democracy :

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armed to the teeth to preserve an unjust social order and a material civilization. The sponsors of this novel politico-religious movement, originally started under the auspices and aegis of their alien rulers, fail to see any future for Islām. They are content with their present envrionment, and on the authority of a revelational basis furnished by the author of the new creed for the political bondage of the Indian sub-continent which is claimed to be the greatest service rendered by them to European Imperialism, and its rule itself is hailed as a blessing—they go so far to underline the absurdity of resort to the use of arms for the sake of religion and preach the gospel with missionary zeal. The members of the new community are vehemently opposed to *jihād* and their minds abhor its very idea.

When man has grown to be a little self-conscious and self-observant.

17. The true nature of the system of Imperialism lies elsewhere :

It depends not on the existence of an 'individual leader or a king.'

18. Be it a National Assembly or the Court of a 'Parviz.'[16]

Whoever casts his covetous eye on another's harvest is an autocrat.

Unfortunately, that mischievous movement, a pallor on the fair cheek of Islām, has influenced though indirectly and imperceptibly, the attitude of a minority of Indian Muslims towards the institution of *jihād*, so that they have grown rather sceptical as to the revival of Islām and turned into a community of pacifists. The modern Muslims have almost despaired of a future for the Muslim world, and in so far as their practical attitude is concerned despite their profession and belief, they seem to regard *jihād* as a practice once observed in the remote past with no religious sanction behind it. They seem to have been taken in by the illusion that they are no longer legally required to fight for Islām, for its honour and glory, in these days of so-called intellectual development and scientific advancement. The Muslims' disloyalty to the definite and important religious injunction of *jihād* brought them their political slavery, intellectual lethargy and all their present debasement and decadence. A lamentable situation indeed !

16. Khusru Parviz, Emperor of Persia (590-628 C.), was one of the most remarkable rulers of his period. He was the

grandson of the famous Persian monarch, Anūshīrwan the Just (531-579 C.), and son of an unworthy Persian ruler, Hurmuz (579-590 C.), who had succeeded Khusru Anūshīrwān on the Persian throne. This Hurmuz had an able general in Bahram, who rebelled against his master, and consequently Hurmuz was deposed and killed. Khusru had to take refuge with the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582-602 A.D.), who practically adopted him as a son and even restored him to the Persian throne with Roman arms.

It is interesting to note that during his stay at Constantinople Khusru Parviz had married a noble Byzantine lady, said to have been of royal blood, and he would take pride in calling himself the son of the Emperor Maurice. On this ground, perhaps, he seemed to have justified himself in fighting the Roman tyrant, Phocas (602-610 A.D.), who had usurped the throne of Constantinople after the murder of Maurice in 602 A.D. Khusru Parviz used the resources of the Persian Empire to fight the usurper Phocas, invading the Byzantine Empire in 602 A.D. The latter's fall came in 610 A.D., and immediately a young energetic Roman, called Heraclius, assumed the reins of power as head of the State. The war between the Persians and the Byzantines went on.

As their hereditary foes, the Persians under Khusru Parviz fought against the Byzantine armies and defeated them; and later on they conquered Anatolia, Syria and Egypt in 613-614 C., and threatened Constantinople itself, A.D. 615 or 616. It was with the utmost exertion that Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium (610-641 A.D), ultimately succeeded in stemming the tide and turning the balance of war in his favour. In 622 A.D. he defeated the Persians and drove them out of Asia Minor; and

during the following years the Byzantines invaded Persian territories and put the enemy entirely on the defensive.

Parviz professed Zoroastrianism, the religion of Pre-Islamic Persia and was reigning when the Holy Prophet of Islām announced his prophetic mission. In 6 A.H. (621 A.D.), a letter was despatched by the Prophet to the Persian monarch, inviting him to embrace Islām. He did not respond to the call and infuriated at seeing the letter, the arrogant ruler tore up the glorious epistle and muttered slightly. The officers, deputed by his governor in Yemen to execute the king's order to send the Prophet in custody to him, were told by the Holy Prophet to go back and see that their king had met his doom. They were back to Yemen and found the report true

It should be pointed out that when the Persian Governor in Yemen tried to carry out his monarch's command to arrest the Holy Apostle, the result was quite different from what the great Persian King of Kings (*Shāhinshāh*) had expected. His agent accepted the truth of Islām, and Yemen was lost as a province to the Persian Empire and became a part of the new Muslam State.

The readers may take note of the words occurring in the Holy Prophet's epistle addressed to Parviz, saying, "Accept Islam, and thou shalt be saved." The prophecy came true when in the beginning of December, 626, the Persian armies were completely routed bv the Byzantines and some weeks later their king, Khusru Parviz, fled to his capital, to be deposed and murdered there by his own son, Shirwīah, in February, 628. This cruel and undutiful son reigned only for a year and a half. The messenger, bearer of the Prophet's epistle to the

19. Hast not thou observed the Democratic[17] system of the West ?

Persian king, who had been received with contumely by Khusru Parviz, came back and told the Holy Prophet of the occurrence. And the Prophet said, "He has torn to pieces his own Empire." It was in the reign of Ḥadrat 'Umar (634-644 A.D.), the Second Caliph, that the Muslims led by the great Arab General Sa'd ibn Abī Waqās attacked the pagan Sāsānian Empire of Persia. The ruling dynasty was extinguished by the Muslim victory at the battle of Madāin in 637 A.D. The great and glorious Persian monarchy, full of pride and ambition, had come to an ignominous end.

The readers may well reflect upon the singificance of the prophetic expression, and then turn to the world's history of more than thirteen hundred years to find anywhere a vestige of the Empire of the people who, before this phenomenon, had ruled over half the world for about five thousand year and whose conquests had many a time brought such mighty Empires as Greece and Rome to their knees. They would turn to history in vain to seek for the vestige. (The word 'Parviz' in the Urdu text, used in its general, broad sense, connotes an absolute monarch, or an autocrat.)

17. The constitutional structure of certain governments in the modern West is acclaimed as democratic. The demoratic system of the West is indeed so designed as to arouse, rather compel, the admiration and recognition of the world. For the Eastern nations, grown sick of the Europeans' age-long domination which has suppressed their spirit of self-assertion and killed their sense of self-determination, it is simply hard to discriminate

between the Western Democracies and the European Totalitarian Powers. To promote better living for a privileged group, no violence is for them too bad, no injustice too base. The much vaunted, so-called democratic system of the modern West is to the Eastern nations what the famous "Roman justice" was to the peoples other than the Romans.

There are instances known to a student of contemporary history, where Democracy, despite its avowed protestations. has betrayed the same ambitions—those of territorial expansion of Empire and economic exploitation of less virile peoples—as cherished by totalitarian States, and has pursued the same aggressive tactics as followed by the latter to gratify those ambitions. Nay, under the guise of a humane system of government, Democracy has on occasions far surpassed aggressive totalitarian Powers and ruthless military Dictatorships in its lust for power, pillage and dominance and in the brutal ruthlessness of the means to its ignoble ends. There are pages in History stained with the blood of countless innocent souls shed in the 'sacred' name of Democracy, telling of the most heinous atorcities committed in its behalf.

Lands have been ravaged and cultures of nations destroyed fore the 'noble' cause of Democracy! It is Democracy exclusive for home, but Despotism ruthless abroad!

Indeed, both the democratic and totalitarian systems are swayed by a burning passion for 'land-hunger;' both are dominated by the same scourging force—Imperialism. The modern West believes in one utilitarian philosophy, and suffers from an atheistic materialism, no less dehumanizing and devastating than that prevailed in the days of the Romans. It is but

With a brilliant exterior, its interior is even
darker than Changezs'[18] soul.

THIRD COUNSELLOR

20. No cause for anxiety then, if the spirit of Imperialism be preserved :

inevitable that the imperialist Western Powers, unguided by any transcendental code of ethics in their evolutional struggle and offensive exertions, should bring untold misery and devastation to mankind, unleashing the dark forces of evil oppression and tyranny.

The democratic system of modern West is far worse and uglier than the absolute monarchy, ruthless autocracy and even dark despotism of Medieval times.

To mention but a few, thou art the achievements of the democratic system of Europe and blessings of the Western variety of Democracy. Iqbal the humanist's lamentation at this tragedy of European Democracy is justly called for :

*وائے بر دستورِ جمہورِ فرنگ
مردہ تر شد مردہ از صورِ فرنگ

"Woe betide the democratic constitution of the West !
The dead soul became stone-dead with the trumpet of the West."

Thus, for the Afro-Asian world, to be sure, has failed the Western brand of Democracy, whether parliamentary or presi-

Jāwed Nāmāh.

dential ! The republicam form of government after Western patterns, ill-suited to the disposition, needs and conditions of the Eastern nations, has ultimately met with failure.

18. Changez Khan (1206-1227 A.D.), the barbaric Tartar conqueror and aggressor hailing from Central Asia, was the son of a Mongol chieftan, born in 1162 A D. His real name was Temuchin, but he is better known to history as Changez Khan (pronounced by Europeans as Genghis Khān), "perfect warrior." Emerging from the desert of Gobi in Mongolia, the outlying region of North China, this man made himself first Khān or emperor of the Mongols in 1206 C., at the age of 44. The savage nomadic tribes of the steppes grew into a formidable organization under this dashing leader.

Changez led his Mongols across the Oxus, and his various armies conquered huge territories north and west of the Yellow River. In 1214, Changez Khān made war on the Kin Empire of northern China and captured Peking, its capital. With his fierce, wild Mongolian hosts he overran and devastated parts of the then Muslim world. Changez's armies penetrated through Muslim lands and swept across vast territories, subjugating or wiping out the populations, and subduing turbulent tribes and conquering countries. The eastern provinces of the Muslim Empire of the Abbasides were trampled down in 1225 A.D. by the Mongol hordes of Changez, who burnt the towns and killed the inhabitants without mercy. Further campaigns and ware spread Changez's dominions as far as Turkistān, Persia, and Georgia, and also south Russia as far as Hungary and Siberia,, right up to the outskirts of Northen India and the eastern border of modern Turkey, and made him ruler over the whole of the Chinese empire, thus establishing the great Mongolian

empire of Tartary. This Mongal leader died master of a vast empire that reached from the Pacific to the Onieper. Changez died in 1227 A.D., leaving one of his grandsons, Hulāgū, to carry on his work of conquest and devastation.

Strangely enough, Changez Khan, the barbarian, developed an enlightened legal code which speaks for his high administrative capacity and his undoubted ability to govern. The collection of the rules and statutes governing Changez public administration is known as *Turāh-e-Changez Khāni*. After Changez's death the Mongol invasion continued to advance with immense strides, the Mongols under his son Ogotai (1229-1241 A.D.) extending their empire to Russia and India.

Another grandson of Changez, called Kublāi Khān (1259-1264 A.D.), succeeded him as the first Mongol emperor of China and grand Khān of the Mongols in 1257 A.D. Setting up his capital on the site of modern Peking, he made Buddhism the State religion of his empire, and founded the Yuan dynasty which lasted until 1368 A.D. Changez Khān's grandson Hulāgū ruthlessly pursued the same course of wanton aggression and reckless destruction as the former had done, shattering the Persians and storming and capturing the Muslim metropolitan city of Baghdād and overthrowing the Abbaside Caliphate in 1258 A.D.

Thus, in the 13th century A.D. Arab civilization suffered a blow at the hands of the Mongols, first under Changez Khān and then under Hulāgū, from which it never entirely recovered. The destruction suffered by Baghdād at the hands of the Mongol was far more disastrous than that experienced by Rome at the hands of the Goths, the Huns and the Vandals. In right pathetic strain is the catastrophe, that of the capture and sack of Baghdād

But what counter-measure to the mischief wrought
by that Jew[19] have you ?

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by Hulāgū, spoken of by Iqbāl, the messenger of Islamic unity :

سطوت مسلم بخاک و خون تپید[1]
دید بغداد آنچہ روما ہم ندید

"The Muslim's prestige was humbled to the dust and stained with blood :

Baghdād did witness what even Rome had not witnessed!"

Changez's name today symbolizes unbridled Despotism and scourging Imperialism. The conquests of this heathen Mongol form a terrible chapter of the world's history, and rival the wars of Alexander (336-323 B.C.) Attila of the Huns (433-453 A.D.), Tamerlane or Timūr the Lame (1369-1405 A.D.), the Tartar aggressor, conqueror and devastator, who traced his descent direct from Changez Khān, and Napoleon (1804-1815 A.D.).

It is significant, though painful to remark that the untold inhuman barbarities and nerve-racking ravages that descended upon mankind through that savage warrior almost appear to be insignificant as contrasted with the horrors and atrocities of the democratic system of the West and its infliction of unspeakable calamities on humanity. Because of its inherent economic greed and national selfishness, the Western democratic system of government is still more detestable and repulsive to the sense of humanity than the stark aggressiveness of Changez Khān.

19. Allusion to Heinrich Karl Marx (1818-1883), the

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1. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi.*

famous political thinker and economist of Germany, who was born of Jewish parents. The Counsellor of the Arch-Devil feels relieved at the assurance given by his fellow-Counsellor that Autocracy has been skilfully dressed in the garb of Democracy, only as a matter of convention and to delude people into the belief that their incessant efforts for the assertion of their rights had at last come to fruition, since they witnessed changes being effected in the old oligarchal systems of government. This in due course brought only disillusionment to them, for the spirit of Imperialism still persisted there and was cleverly preserved by those in authority in the so-called democratic governments. The fear, however, is expressed with regard to the socio-political ideology of Karl Marx.

Founder of modern Communist theory, Heinrich Karl Marx was influencd by the works of Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), the great German philosopher. Karl Marx was a leading exponent of what is known as the materialist conception of history, *i.e.*, he believed that the basis of historical development is to be found in economic considerations. He held that there was nothing in common between the exploiter and the exploited, and that the latter must aim at the overthrow of capitalism. It was Karl Marx who first elaborated the principles of an economic system, known as Socialism. This economic and political movement aims at reforming society by substituting collective for individual action. Marx was not inspired by any deep love for humanity. He stuck to the anti-religious attitude which is an essential part of his doctrine. Marx's literary works gave a great impetus to the growth of Socialism, and his teachings became the basis of Communism. Karl Marx saw benefit for the community in its being socially and economically re-

XXI. That Moses[20] without light

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organised, asserting that this would establish equality of status and opportunity, especially by means of national ownership and control of wealth, land, and the means of production.

Marx's creed inspired Lenin and the makers of the Russian Resolution of October 1917, which put the *Bolsheviki* in power in Russia, precipitating the downfall of the Tsar Dynasty. Karl Marx's economic theories had important social and political bearings and were nothing short of a mischief which, the Devil's party feared, were calculated to end all excesses and wrongs that are being done to people on account of economic inequality.

20. Literally, the Speaker (*Kalīm*, in the text), that is, the One with whom the Lord Speaketh (*Kalīm Allāh*, or Interlocutor of God). This is the epithet by which the great Israelite Prophet Moses is universally known for he had been in direct and frequent communion with God the Most High. In his apostolic Mission he was assisted by his brother, Aaron, the high priest of Israel. Being more fluent, and eloquent, Aaron acted as spokesman for Moses before the elders of Israel and Pharaoh (the Bible; Old Testament, the Book of Exodus, chapters 4 & 7: also refer to the Qur'ān for Moses' request to God for assistance in his Mission by his brother Aaron—part XVI, *sūrah* xx, sec. 2, verses 29-32, and part XX, *sūrah* xxviii, sec. 4, verses 34-35).

Moses, the great Hebrew Lawgiver, liberated the oppressed Israelites from the bondage of the godless Egyptian tyrant, Pharaoh, and led them safely from Egypt to the confines of Canaan, near Syro-Palestine border. The Prophet Moses went up to Mount Sināī, where the Lord Spoke to him, in clouds of glory,

and granted him the *Decalogue*, or the Ten Commandments that constitute the Mosaic Law of the Jews. The Israelites wandered in the wilderness for forty years in chastisement for their persistent disobedience of their Prophet and their repeated defiance of the Lord's Commands. There in the wilderness, at the invocation of Moses, they received from heaven the special food known as *manna* (*mann*, in Hebrew), which the hapless later sought to be substituted by inferior food (Old Testament ; the Book of Exodus, ch. 16 ; the Qur'ān : part I, *sūrah* ii, sec. 6, v. 57, and part XVI, *sūrah* xx, sec. 4, v. 80). The children of Israel had thus been unable to get to the blessed promised Land of Syria, Moses himself dying at the age of 120 after having a glimpse of the promised Land from Pisgah.

At Mount Sinai, the Prophet Moses persisted in witnessing the Lord (the Hebrew *Jehovah*) Himself with his material eyes. He had a prefigurement of Divine effulgence. There flashed but a short glimpse of Light and, with the whole mount quaking greatly and the mountain crashing down, Moses, incapable of bearing it, instantaneously fell down senseless (the Qur'ān : part IX, *sūrah* vii, sec. 17, v. 143). For the vindication of the Divine Truth before the Egyptian Pharaoh and his haughty chiefs, the Hebrew Prophet was granted the two important miracles, those of the 'white hand' and the 'staff,' or the 'rod' (Old Testament ; the Book of Exodus, ch. 4, verses 2-4, and verses 6-7, also v. 17 : the Qur'ān : part XVI, *sūrah* xx, sec. 1, verses 18-22). This implied that the sublime power thus vested in Prophet Moses embraced both aspects, spiritual as well as temporal.

The 'white hand' (*yad-e-baidā'*), the first great Sign (*āyah*), displayed itself, when the Prophet Moses put his hand into his

bosom and then took it out, when, behold, his hand was leprous as snow (see Note 48, para. 1, for the 'white hand' of Moses). The 'rod' ('*asā*'), the other great Sign (*āyah*), wrought two main wonders: it was cast down and it was turned to a serpent, swallowing up those caused by the enchantments of Egypt's magicians with their own rods (Old Testament; the Book of Exodus, ch. 7, verses 10 & 12; the Qur'ān: part IX, *sūrah* vii, sections 13 & 14, verses 107 & 117), and the rock was smitten with the 'rod,' and there gushed forth water, in twelve separate springs, for all the congregation of Israel, the twelve tribes in all, and the cattle to drink (Old Testament; the Book of Numbers, ch. 20, v. 11; the Qur'ān: part 1, *sūrah* ii, sec. 7, v. 60, and part IX, *sūrah* vii, sec. 20, v. 160). Lastly, the 'rod' was lifted up and Moses' hand was stretched out over the sea, dividing it and forging into the midst of the sea a dry safe passage for Israel, the waters returning and covering the hosts of Pharaoh (Old Testament: the Book of Exodus, ch. 14; the Qur'ān: part XIX, *sūrah* xxvi, sec. 4, verses 63-66).

It may be noted that by assigning Godhead to Prophet Ezra the Jews have come to maintain their own 'Holy Duality,' like the 'Holy Trinity' of the Christians, contrary to the original teachings of Moses. The Jews were a favoured and privileged people, but proved ungrateful to the Lord. Being a stiff-necked people, they played fast and loose with the Prophets, and were disloyal to God's Covenant, deliberately betaking themselves to the crooked way of sin and unbelief. The Scripture received by Moses is known as the *Torah* the Pentateuch (the first five Books of the Old Testament) being ascribed to him. This is the sacred book of the Jews. The Hebrew religion, called Judaism, founded by Prophet Moses, is one of the three great revealed

faiths of the world, the other two being Christianit yand Islam.

The Israelites have had a long and chequered history, with many ups and downs in their fortunes. The next generation after Prophets Moses and Aaron was ruled by Prophet Joshua, who crossed the Jordon and settled the tribes in Palestine. The last of the leaders to appear among the Israelites was Prophet Samuel, dated about the 11th century B.C, who reunited them under God's banner and restored the power of Israel. There followed after him a line of Kings on the one hand and of the later Prophets on the other. It was in Samuel's time that a fierce people, called the Philistines, made a furious attack on the Israelites and defeated them with great slaughter. Under Saul (Ar. Tālūt, King of the Israelites, David, a daring young warrior, met the enemy Commander, the giant Goliath (Ar. Jālūt), on the field almost unarmed. David, afterwards King and Prophet of Israel, whose Psalms (*Zabūr*) are still extant, knocked down Goliath with his shepherd's sling, slaying the giant with his own sword. Struck with consternation, the Philistine army fled, was pursued and cut to pieces, the children of Israel carrying the day.

There are certain important episodes in the long, eventful history of Israel, which may well be mentioned in view of their deep significance in religious history. The departure *en masse* from Egypt of the Israelites under the Prophet Moses is known as *Exodus*, it also being the name of the second Book of the Old Testament, which narrates that departure. Led by Prophets Moses and Aaron, the Hebrews were made to cross the Red Sea miraculously : they walked upon dry *land* through the midst of the sea, and escaped away to safety. But, Pharaoh's hosts, the Egyptians, who pursued after Israel in hot haste and following

them right into the sea nearly overtook them, were all overthrown by the Lord in the midst of the sea and drowned in the waters along with the leader. Having been led down to Canaan by Moses, the Israelites would wilfully stay on there, persisting in their stiffnecked resistance and obstinately refusing to fight their way to the Promised Holy Land. Moses, then, led his men for forty years through the *wilderness*, mainly fighting against the unbelief of his own people. The children of Israel did eat *manna*, the heavenly food, until they approached the very land of Canaan.

Israel's history is closely connected with the historic Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, known as the Temple of Solomon, which was built about B.C. 1004, by the Prophet-King Solomon, son of the Prophet David. The Wrath of God was poured out on the arrogant and sinful Jews, when the warlike Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylonia, penetrated through their lands and homes, destroying their Temple and carrying away the Jews, men and women, into *captivity*, about 586 B.C. It was about 560 B.C., when the return of the Jews from the Captivity was caused under Prophet Ezra. They started life afresh and built up a new Judaism, rebuilding their Temple about 515 B C. The Hebrews had a national revival in B.C. 167-63, their footing in palestine continuing. Syria, including Palestine, became a Roman dominion in B.C. 65. The Jews' rejection of the Prophet Jesus' Message brought about their inevitable second doom, when they were ruthlessly massacred by the heathen Romans and Jerusalem was completely destroyed and the Temple razed to the ground, never to be rebuilt, by Titus in 70 A.D., who ruled as Roman Emperor from 79 to 81 A.D. These episodes are dwelt upon in the Old Testament and referred

That Jesus[21] without a Cross :

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to in the Qur'ān, and are intended to serve as stern pointers to profound lessons for humanity.

21. Literally, the *Messiah* (the "One anointed," in Hebrew, also in Arabic as used in the Muslim Scripture), originally a Jewish conception, based on the Biblical promises, that God would send a Saviour to lead His people. In the New Testament, it would seem, Jesus Christ identified himself as the Messiah, although Jesus ignored the political and economic import of the expectation as cherished by the Jews. Here the reference is to Jesus Christ of Nazareth, in Galilee, King of the Jews (*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*), son of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Emissary of the Most High, raised for the Israelites.

Christ was miraculously born of a pure virgin, the godly Mary, in Bethlehem when Augustus Caesar was reigning as the first Emperor of Rome (31 B.C. – 14 A.D.). The virgin-born Jesus Christ, the Prophet of the Nazarenes, was a noble indication of the wondrous ways of God Almighty : he was the Word of the Lord and the Spirit from Him that was breathed into Virgin Mary. Thus it is that Jesus came to form the second person of the 'Holy Trinity,' although the faith preached first by Jesus Christ was definitely and strictly monotheistic. With the Catholics Jesus is the *Logos*, the Word incarnate, and dualism, the two personalities in Christ, *viz.* divine and human, forms part of the conventional Christian doctrine.

Following in the progeny of the Prophet Jacob, Jesus was the last of the long line of the Israelite Prophets, thus raised

by the Lord for the guidance of the children of Israel. For vindicating the Divine Truth before a defiant and rebellious people, Christ was granted certain special miracles, such as the healing of the born blind and the lepers, and the raising of the dead (New Testament ; the Book of St. Mathew, chapters 8 & 9, and the Book of St. Luke, ch. 7, v. 22; the Qurān part III, *sūrah* iii, sec. 5, v. 49, and part VII, *sūrah* v, sec. 15, v. 110).

The circumstances of Christ's birth, as also of the end of his life on earth, are shrouded in deep mystery. He is claimed by the Jews and believed by the Orthodox Christian Churches to have been crucified and killed on the Cross. Christ's crucifixion, his supposed physical death, his resurrection, his ascension to heaven in the body, and his descending on earth before the Final Day, and the other allied questions have been keenly disputed by Jews, Christians, and Muslims. (For their divergent views see Note 54, relevant paragraphs.) The Cross on which Jesus is said to have suffered his death has served and the symbol of Christianity ever since the fourth century A.D. The existence and discovery of the true Cross has, however, been a point of private dispute with the Christians.

While the Cross stands as the symbol of Christianity, the Crescent (*Hilāl*. originally applied to the new moon) has come to stand as the symbol of Islām. It is used as the military and religious emblem, especially by the 'Osmānli Turks. The Cross served as a distinguishing mark of the *pious* Christian knights who took part in the expeditions undertaken by Christian Europe for recovering the Holy Land from the Muslims. These Christian knights came to be known in history as the Crusaders, who fought with the Saracens, as followers of Islam

were called in the Middle Ages (1000 – 1500 A.D.). The expeditions were called Crusades, since their name was taken from the Cross, which was adopted as their symbol by Crusaders. The grounds for these struggles had been partly religious, and partly political. In the Crusades that took place roughly between 1100 and 3300 A.D., the names of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn and Richard have ever appeared as most illustrious and fascinating.

The teachings of Jesus Christ, called the Gospel, are embodied in the Bible, the sacred book of the Christians, which has two great divisions, known as the Old Testament and the New Testament. The Jews and the Christians are invariably referred to in the Holy Qur'ān as 'People of the Scripture,' as recipients of the Revealed Scriptures through their own Prophets, Moses and Jesus. The idea of *Messiah* has always been much in favour equally with the Jews, the Christians, and the Muslims. They have looked forward to the advent of a Saviour, coming to their rescue and securing their triumph and peace.

Starting with a sort of monastic order, Christianity was later on split up into eastern, Greek and western, Latin forms. Then, as the Reformation came in the 16th century A D., the Christian Church was divided into two major camps, the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The former would follow the Pope of Rome as father of the Church, and the latter would be led by Martin Luther (1483-1546 A.D.), the German Protestant reformer, who stood in revolt against Papacy and the Catholics' corruption. The eastern Christianity died out, the western Christianity having been reconstructed stayed on and thrived. A mass of mysterious and incomprehensible dogmas have gradually grown round the Christian Faith, and with this numerous sects have sprung up.

A reference may here be made to three distinctive religious groups, so as to illustrate the sharpness of sectarian dissensions and to give some idea of the utter complexity of the Christian doctrine. The Monophysites held that there was only one nature in Christ who was the divine Word incarnate. The Arab Monophysites and the Orientals of pre-Islamic times accepted the doctrine that 'Trinity' was one Divinity, one Nature, one Essence. The Nestorians, followers of Nestorius, the Bishop of Constantinople (428-31 A.D.), held that Christ was truly man but was born as God of the Virgin Mary, uniting in himself two natures. Nestorius taught that the divinity and humanity of Christ were not united in a single self-conscious personality. The Nestorians attempted to distinguished between the divine and human natures of Christ, asserting that Christ had two distinct persons, divine and human. The Arians, adhering to the doctrines of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria (ob. 336), denied consubstantiality of Christ and assigned to him a subordinate and inequal status as one of the persons of the 'Trinity.' They maintained that Christ was not the equal of the Father but was created by him.

Thus, it would appear that there have always existed serious dogmatic differences regarding the status of Jesus Christ as to whether he was human or divine or a combination of both qualities. Besides, there have been many Christian thinkers who have advocated the principle of Chirst's humanity, and were opposed to the dogma of Trinity. It is significant that the adulterated 'Trinitarian' faith, are stigmatised as the so-called 'Unitarians' by the Catholics. These Christian schools of thought are condemned as heretics by that of the orthodox

No Prophet is he, yet under his arm a book[22]
he carries.

Church, a compromise between the two having been rendered impossible.

22. The line, in the original, is a quotation from the Persian poet Jāmī, who is thus eloquently appreciative of the *Mathnawī* by the mystic Master, Rūmī. Here Iqbāl, by quoting the line. obviously means to the *Kapital* of Marx. Karl Marx was no Prophet : he had no Revelat on and no miracles. He was a philosopher and a Socialist inspired by a particular poltico-economic ideology. In his epoch-making book, *Das Kapital* ("The Capital"), Marx enunciated his political theories and the principles of his economic system. This system came to be known as Socialism or Communism. *Das Kapital* is devoted to a study of the economic system of capitalist society. The economic system as expounded by Marx is the foundation on which the modern political superstructure of Soviet Russia is erected. It is exceedingly strange that Karl Marx, a Jew, proverbially a very miserly, greedy and usurious creature, should have been so strongly opposed to Capitalism ! He knew no God and no religion He only insisted on the economic equality of men which formed the basis of the system elaborated in his book. How aptly does Iqbal speak of the man :

[3]دینِ آن پیغمبرِ حق شناس
بر مساواتِ شکم دارد اساس

"The religion of that prophet unconscious of God:
It has the equality of the stomacn," for its basis.

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3. *Jawed Namah.*

With the assistance of his closest German collaborator, Friedrich Engels, and generously financed by that constant associate, Karl Marx was able to draw up and polish in 1848, at London, the well-known *Communist Manifesto* which may be regarded as the foundation of modern Socialism. To this day the spirit of the booklet inspires the organised proletariat of the world. The *Capital* and the *Manifesto* are to the Socialists what the Bible is to the Christians. It would be noticed that in their intellecutual development Marx and Engels were greatly indebted to the German philosophers, particularly to Hegel (1770—1838).

Friedrich Engels (1820—1895), the devoted adherent of Karl Marx and his life-long friend, greatly promoted the cause of Socialism by his generous financial support to the movement still at its evolutionary theoretical stage. It was Friedrich Engels who encouraged Marx to higher endeavours for advancing the Socialist movement, and sustained his spirits in hours of distress and want by his inspring as.ociation and self-sacrificing material support. It was largely due to Engels' constant assistance that Marx was able to bring his work on *Capital* to a conclusion. Thrown together by fate, the lifework of each of the two friends became the common cause of both. Karl Marx collaborated with Engels in writing many important works on Socialism and in developing his peculiar theories of Dialectical Materialism.

Next only to Marx, Friedrich Engels was the most noteworthy teacher and champion of the modern proletariat. After the death of Marx, he continued alone to be the counsellor and leader of the European Socialists. Engels' personal efforts for the Socialist cause during Marx's lifetime and his own literary

XXII. I can hardly explain what significance does the infidel[23] penetrating vision possess:

It heralds, methinks, the day of reckoning to the peoples in the East and the West.

XXIII. No greater corruption of human nature than this would there be :

The slaves have cut the ropes that held the masters' pavilions.

FOURTH COUNSELLOR

XXIV. Watch ye its counteraction[24] in the halls of mighty Rome.[25]

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works produced after the latter's death gave a great stimulus to the growth of Communism. This potential socio-economic movement, at long last, bore its vital fruit in Soviet Russia with the establishment in that country of the proletariat's rule by Lenin and his comrades in the memorable year 1917.

23. Again, the allusion is to Karl Marx, the atheist. He dried Divine Revelation and regarded religion as the opiate of masses. Religion was taken by him to be an instrument of exploitation of the commoners and the toiling masses in the hand of the capitalist. The capitalists, while supporting government by the plutocrats, would exploit religion as a tool of their own power-politics, besides exploiting unscrupulously the poor and simple labouring souls to the former's own advantage. The practical principles of Marx's economic system enunciated

in his monumental work, called *Das Kapital*, and his programme, as set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*, were later to become popular in Soviet Russia, where Socialism grew to be the State religion until, following the overthrow of the Czarist regime after Great War (1914-18), proletarian Government was established in the country and the Socialist Soviet Union gave Socialism a universal character, widely known as Communism. The rise of the Socialism to power as a successful economic system and an important political force inspired the Eastern and Western nations to self-realisation and self-examination, and, consequently, brought about a political awakening in them. The poor and helpless labouring classes, which had hitherto laboured hard under the harsh task-master, were inspired with hope, and they summoned up their courage to assert themselves and defy their masters' will and their orders.

24. To one of Satan's Counsellors self-affirmation by people was corruption of human nature which expressed itself in the development of Socialism as a political power of great potentialities, and the discomforting thought of the increasing influence over people of that socio-economic system gave the Counsellor a terribal shudder. Socialism was indeed a serious agitation of humn nature, because, with the widening of the sphere of its influence, disturbances, caused in the world through an inequitable distribution of wealth and its hoarding and accumulation by the capitalists, were likely to end, which the fraternity of the Devil has always been keen to create, and this possibility greatly perturbed the Counsellor. The other Counsellor of the Arch-Devil aptly points out the remedy prescribed by the Devil's gang in order to counteract the effects of the

Once again have we inspired in the descendanto[25].

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economic order introduced by Karl Marx, and this remedy is hailed as a counter-measure to the mischief thus wrought by that arch-Socialist. That remedy is to be detected in the ambitious Fascist Italy. Satan's Counsellor No. 4 regards Fascism as the remedy and describes it as an "excellent antidote" against that "dangerous movement"—Socialism.

25. From its foundation, traditionally guessed as having been founded in 753 B.C , Rome became successively a city, a republic. and eventually a vast imperial power. Having extended itself over the richest lands in East and West, once forming parts of the Greek Empire, the Empire of Rome succeeded Alexander's rule. At its highest pitch of power and prestige, the great Roman Empire extended over vast territories and heterogeneous populations, in the three large continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. It took the Roman Empire nearly 1000 years to grow to its full geographical extent and its political maturity.

The decline of the Roman Empire. finally caused by the war-like migrations and ravaging incursions of the Huns, the Goths, and the Vandals, came rapidly, proceeding most rapidly from 395 A.D. Its complete, final extinction in the West coming about in 476 A.D., the downfall of the Roman Empire was effected during one single century and was effected so completely that nothing of it remained but works of literature and architecture. Unrestrained self-indulgence and moral deterioration of the triumphant and arrogant Romans ultimately hastened the decay and destruction of the vast and mighty Roman Empire.

26. Meant here is the Fascist movement led by the Italian Dictator, Signor Benito Mussolini, who was at the helm of State

administration until the collapse of Italy in World War II (1939-45). Born in July, 1883, of humble Italian parents, Benito Mussolini first became a teacher, then a staunch active Socialist. He then took to journalism, becoming editor in 1912, of a Socialist Paper in Milan. Mussolini urged Italy's participation in the Great War of 1914-18, and when she joined it in 1915, he himself went on active service. There was general economic depression and mass unemployment after World War I. Dissatisfied with post-war economic and political conditions, Mussolini abandoned the Socialist cause, and in 1919 founded the movement known as Fascism. This political and social movement arose out of the discontent felt in Italy after the Great War. Fascism was the political movement thus launched by Mussolini and the political system by which he ruled Italy from 1922 to early 1944. Its early aim was to suppress Communism, and it adopted a military organization which it retained throughout.

In October, 1922, Benito Mussolini led in person the famous march on Rome, followed by 2,00,000 Fascists. The existing government was overthrown and a Fascist government set up in the country, Benito Mussolini himself becoming Prime Minister and Dictator of Italy in November, 1922. The Fascists under the *Duce* had been dominant in the entire public administration. Signor Mussolini reconstructed the State constitution on Fascist lines, effected a concordat with the Pope, and prosecuted a vigorous foreign policy. He endeavoured to instil martial ideas into his people and strove hard to turn the Italians into an aggressive martial race. Acting the aggressor he invaded Abyssinia (otherwise called Ethiopia) and Albania in 1936, and seized both the lands. Under Mussolini Italy became a major European power and one of the great powers of the world.

Of Caesar the dream of Caesar.[27]

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Signor Benito Mussolini (1922-1944) represented the descendants of Julius Caesar (48-44 B.C.), the dictator of the old Roman Empire. Like Julius Caesar, his remote Roman predecessor, the Fascist Italian Dictator was fired by the unholy ambition of world conquest and world-wide domination. Like Caesar, Mussolini dreamt of the leadership of a world-empire. His evil genius tempted him to the odious task of the reconstruction of the once great ancient Roman Empire on the foundations of modern Fascist Italy, being ruled, until its defeat in the World War of 1939-45, under his guiding influence.

27. Gaius Julius Caesar (48-44 B C.) famous Roman soldier and statesman, was born of aristocratic parents at Rome in 102 B.C., about a hundred years after the death of Hannibal, the great Carthaginian general. An impressive speaker in the Roman Senate, he was chosen as the Consul, or chief governor of Rome, in 59 B.C., the year being a memorable one for Caesar. In 60 B.C. Julius Caesar formed with Pompey (106-48 B.C.) and Marcus Licinius Crassus (*c.* 115-53 B.C.) what is known as the first *Triumvirate*—a union of the three leading men, who usurped the whole power of the Senate and people.

Caesar's life-history revolves round two important persons —Crassus and Pompey, the former being the richest Roman of his day. Before the coalition between these three men was brought about, Pompey had made a pact with Crassus, the two having been elected Consuls for the year 70. Then, in 67 B.C., when Pompey left Rome on his campaigns abroad, a pact was made between Crassus and Caesar with the avowed object of

counteracting the influence of Pompey. Things took a new turn, when in 55 B.C. Pompey and Crassus became Consuls once again, and they were assigned the provinces of Spain and Syria respectively for five years. Greedy of wealth and jealous of Pompey's military renown as he had ever been, Marcus Crassus set out, in 55 B.C., for the East. He ravaged Mesopotamia in 54, and in 53, after plundering the Temple at Jerusalem, he invaded the Persian province of Parthia ; but his army was destroyed and Crassus himself captured and put to death in 53 B.C.

A highly ambitious person, Caesar before long secured a great military command with extensive powers, and obtained the charge of the province of Gaul, as France was then known. He led his armies of Roman legions over Spain and Gaul, fighting and conquering wherever he went. His conquest of Gaul having been completed in 51 B.C., Caesar made it an orderly and well-governed province. Having conquered the surrounding country and consolidated his gains, Julius Caesar invaded Britain in 55 and 54 B.C., compelling her to pay tribute to Rome and submit to the Roman rule.

Caesar's amazing military achievements had by now aroused a good deal of animosity at home, his most powerful rival in Rome being Pompey himself. The death of Marcus Crassus in 53 B.C. had lef his two colleagues, Julius Caesar and Pompey, face to face, and had now hastened the inevitable conflict for the mastery of the Roman world. Pompey had won great victories in the East and had conquered Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, and now sought to make himself master of Rome. This was just what Caesar could not tolerate. Things coming to such a pass, Caesar's unbounded ambitions precipiated civil

war. Having been elected Consul again for the year 48, Caesar routed Pompey's forces in the first battle at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Then, pressing on the advanced into Egypt, where in a romantic fit he was enamoured of its charming Queen Cleopatra, who later became Caesar's mistress and even bore him a son.

Cleopatra, the celebrated pretty Queen of ancient Egypt (69-30 B.C.), was destined to play a unique, but fateful, part in Roman history. She was the scion of the famous Greek dynasty of Egyptian kings, known as the Ptolemies, with one of whom she had been the joint ruler for a good many years before she became an independent sovereign. In that land of Pharaohs, once the cradle of human civilization, which saw many an upheaval in the course of its long, chequered history, it was again a great Roman, now Mark Antony, after Caesar had left life's stage, who irresistibly wooed by the Queen succumbed to her charms and was taken a captive. As we are told, consequent upon Antony's defeat at the hands of the Roman Emperor Augustus (31 B.C.—14 A.D.), and the former's eventual quick death, Cleopatra followed her suitor's fate be allowing herself a serpent-bite, to escape from the victor's humiliating retribution. The curious story of this romance between the luckless Roman adventurer and Egypt's ill-fated ambitious queen is graphically told, and the events leading to their ultimate tragic end are vividly narrated by Shakespeare (1564-1616 A.D.), the great English poet-dramatist, in his play, *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Relieved from his romantic affair with Cleopatra, Julius Caesar feverishly continued his pursuit of Pompey. He had yet to fight a number of battles against Pompey, then still a deadly foe, in Asia Minor, Africa, and Spain, and was victo-

rious. Eventually, Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was assassinated in 48 B.C. Caesar had a brilliant military career abroad, and honours and dignities awaited him in Rome.

Julius Caesar now enjoyed supreme power and prestige, and was made dictator for life in 48 B.C. He was master of Rome, and soon made himself the supreme ruler of the whole Roman world. But he had grown power intoxicated, and dreamt of the leadership of a world-empire. He had assumed the proud title of *imperator*, or emperor. A conspiracy was formed against Caesar, with Cassius, a wicked ambitious Roman, as the leader. The conspirators surrounded their victim in the Senate-house, at an important meeting of the Senate, in March. 44 B.C., and stabbed him to death, his close friend and a provincial governor, Marcus Junius Brutus (85—41 B.C.), being one of Caesar's assassins.

It was Julius Caesar who made possible the existence of a Roman empire which his successor and nephew, the Emperor Augustus Caesar (31 B.C.—14 A.D.), established in 31 B.C. The reign of this first Emperor of Rome marks the most brilliant age in Roman literature, and has historically come to be known as the Augustan age in literature, in any Eupropean language. In the time of Augustus there flourished poets like Virgil (70—19 B.C.) and Horace (65-8 B C.), who greatly polished and enriched Latin, the langugage of the ruling Romans.

Julius Caesar was the virtual founder of the Roman Empire which gradually expanded from the republic into a vast mighty empire long after Caesar had been dead. Caesar's commentaries on the Gallic and the civil wars are models of simple and

XXV. Who[28] is coiled round the surging waves of the Mediterranean ?

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clear writing. He possessed a strong reforming zeal, and reformed, including other matters, the Roman calendar. This Roman statesman has left a deep impress on the course of the political history of Europe. Modern European law is essentially based on the Roman law as instituted by Julius Caesar.

While the month of July is derived from 'Julius,' the month of August has its origin in 'Augustus.' The name 'Caesar' was borne by the first Roman Emperor, Gaius Octavius Augustus, and by later emperors, and used as a title by the succeeding emperors of Rome. Its form 'Kaiser' was used for Emperor Charlemagne (800-814 A.D.) and the other emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, and also for the emperors of the Byzantine Empire, known as the Eastern Roman Empire. The German Kaiser and the Russian Tsar or Czar (*Russ. tsari*) are variants of the same word, Caesar, denoting the sense of 'emperor' (an absolute monarch, an autocrat).

28. Allusion to Mussolini, who, puffed up with pride on account of his rising fortunes, called the Mediterranean Sea his 'Italian lake'. He had nothing but contempt for other major European Powers for their hegemony at sea, a monopoly solely enjoyed by his rivals. Both in his official speeches and in his public outbursts, he complained of the injustice done to Italy as a naval Power. He was persistent in his vigorous demand for a major share for Italy, worthy of her position as a big European Power, in the occupation of the Mediterranean Sea, and by

"That now expands like the pine, and then wails like the rebeck!"[29]

XXVI. Little do I recognise him to be a man of far-sighted wisdom :

(A fool[30]) who has thus the statecraft of Europe exposed.

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appeals and by threats he demanded an immediate redress of his grievances. In the evil-inspired ambition of the Fascist Dictator for a revival of the old Roman Empire, the Counsellor of the Devil invites his colleague Counsellor to watch the counteraction of the political principles of economic bearing of Karl Marx, embodied in that politico-economic system of modern Soviet Russia, universally known as Socialism.

29. *Rubāb*, in the original text, is Arabic in form and spirit. The *rubāb* is an old Eastern musical instrument, akin to the violin (*violino-viola*) *Rubāb* a medieval three-stringed instrument played with a bow, with delightful melodious tunes, is shaped like a mandoline or a pear cut in half longitudinally. It was introduced into Muslim Spain, called Andulisiah, by the Moors during their enlightened rule over that country and had been exceedingly popular in Western Europe. This musical instrument seems to have died out in Europe about the middle of the 17th century. The word *rubāb* has been adapted into a number of modern European languages, with but slight variations.

30. This again alludes to the Fascist Italian aggressor, insinuating element of stupidity in his conduct in international

FIFTH COUNSELLOR

(Turning to the Arch-Devil)

XXVII. O thou ! the fire of whose breath lends stability to the world-process :
When it pleased thee, everything hidden didst thou bring to light.

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politics. As the intellectual and social atmosphere of old Rome was utterly utilitarian and anti-religious, so in fact is the atmosphere of the modern West.

In his irresistible zeal to satisfy his burning ambition for the reconstruction of the old Roman Empire, the Italian betrayed a palpable lack of political foresight, diplomacy and practical statesmanship while embarking on the campaign to annex to modern Italy the territories once forming parts of the ancient Roman Empire. The unwarranted and unprovoked Italian aggressions against such harmless and defenceless countries as Abyssinia (also known as Ethiopia) and Albania brought disillusionment to the subject Eastern peoples as to the sincerity of the promises and assurances given them by European nations for freedom from the latter's rule. The palpably aggressive policy pursued by the Italian Dictator, Mussolini, against defenceless and scantily equipped Eastern countries laid bare before the world's eye the inherent reality of Europe's statecraft being based on encroachment on the Eastern nations right to an honourable independent life by European Powers For a fuller grasp of the idea contained in the line, see preceding Notes under 'Fourth Counsellor.'

XXVIII. It is thy fire that has transformed dead earth and water[31] into a world of beauty and endeavour.[32]

Inspired by thy instruction, the fool of Paradise[33] turns a seer.

XXIX. More closely familiar with man's nature than thee is not He :
Who among the simpletons is known as God the Sustainer.

Benito Mussolini controlled Italy's destiny for about 22 years (1922-1944). In 1944, after the collapse of the organised resistance the Fascist Italians, fighting on the side of the Nazi Germans had offered and *Duce* to the Allies during World War II (1939-45), the Italian Dictator had his fall. Mussolini met his tragic end, when in April, 1945, he was executed in Milan after a ten-minute trial, by a firing squad of the Italian partisans, then armed to exterminate Fascist element from the country. Ironically enough, it was in Milan, who were then led by the ambitious Nazi Dictator and German *Führer*, Herr Adolf Hitler (1934-1945)—the Italian city that eventually also witnessed his execution, that Mussolini, having followed the journalist's career, had been once editor of a Socialist journal, as far back as in 1912.

31. The well-known four elements, which constitute the physical life.

32. *Soz-o-Sāz*, in the text, are terms of Ṣūfism. They

signify two different phases in the psychic development of the mystic. *Soz*, or endeavour, is the yearning of the mystic's soul and interprets his burning quest for inner light and his unceasing effort to approach the reality, a state when he is all impatient and restless. *Sāz*, or beauty, is the state when, after his spiritual endeavours have taken him onward to his goal—the communion with Eternal Beauty—the mystic experiences an inexplicable sense of delight, being overwhelmed with a feeling of joyous satisfaction to find himself attaining by degrees to ultimate Reality and thus to perfection—the aim of all his striving.

33. A fitting eulogy and a flattering speech addressed to the Arch-Devil by one of his leading Counsellors! More of a courtier, the fifth Counsellor is rather given to praising and flattering his Chief. The religious-minded people believe in Paradise and look forward to the Hereafter for the reward of their deeds in this world. They are styled by Satan's admiring disciple as stupid conservatives and ultra-fanatics, who profess belief in such imaginary things as Paradise, Hell, the Resurrection, and so on, and above all believe in that creation of the simple man's imagination—God. They are dubbed by the Counsellor of the Arch-Devil as ignorant fools, believing in invisible and abstract things and considering themselves bound to submit to the requirements of and existing all-embracing moral law, and leading a life restricted by considerations of moral and religious limitations. Stopping to the concerted exertions of the Devil's fraternity and yielding, at long last, to the persistent temptations of *Iblīs*, the people are converted to the Devil's creed and come to possess a penlty of worldly sense. Thanks to the Archfiend's constant coaching and preaching, whose effective tutoring in the long run broadens their outlook

XXX. Those whose business was confined to sanctifying, signing hymns, and going round.[34]

Thy sense of self-respect has put them to shame for ever, with their heads hanging low.

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on the present Life, the straightforward fellows grow wiser and become more statesmanlike in affairs earthly and matters mundane. Powerless to attempt anything, incompetent to act independently and incapable of achieving anything, after receiving fervour from the inspiration of Satan, the men develop the progressive capacity to take the initiative, work havoc and cause disturbances on Earth—a state of affairs in which the Arch-Devil sees the fulfilment of his particular mission in the world.

34. The original has letters of the Holy Book, namely, *taqdīs ṭasbīḥ, ṭawāf.* These scriptural words occur myriads of times in the Holy Qurān, constituting components of numerous different verses. Of these terms the first two form the Arabic infinitives, from which the important derivatives are *Quddūs* and *Subḥān*, being two of the glorious attributive names (*asmā' as-ṣifāt*) of Allāh. While the former connotes the One sanctified, the latter denotes the One hymned and glorified—the first term means sanctifying and the other glorifying, hymning. And, the last named term signifies a peculiar movement of the body, which is walking round a holy object or place in a reverent attitude. We need only quote two relevant fragmentary verses from the Scripture out of the innumerable

in order to illustrate the import of these particular Qur'ānic terms, which, besides elucidating the meaning of the terms, should vividly convey the idea underlying the couplet in question of the stanza under comment. In part I, *sūrah* ii, sec. 4, verse 30, where the forthcoming creation of Adam is foretold by the Lord to the Angels, of celestial beings, *i.e.*, the Angels, after remonstrating at the placing of Man as God's Vicegerent on Earth, who, necessarily as he is invested with the power of initiative, might abuse his powers equally for evil as he would employ them for good, solemnly affirm," ....whilst we do celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness!"

As to the third term, *viz. tawāf*, there is not a single Qur'ān-verses wherein it has been used specifically in reference to the Angels as indicative of circular movement around the holy object of devotion by those heavenly beings, unlike the first two term—*taqdīs* and *tasbīḥ*—which are expressively used in relation to the Angels and represented as having been uttered by themselves, as contained in the part of the verse quoted above—terms as celebrating the Lord's praise and glorifying His holy name by the Angels. We, however, have in part XXIV, *sūrah* xxxix, sec. 5, verse 75, an expression to this effect which, containing as it does a phrase almost an equivalent of '*ṭawāf*' manifestly gives an idea of the purport inherent in that term quoted in the Urdū text, as pointing to a 'particular activity' of the Angels, of their going in a circular movement around the object of devotion. The relevant fragment of this verse reads, "And thou wilt see the Angels surrounding the (Divine) Throne on all sides, hymning the praises of their Lord.........!" It will be noted that 'glorifying of the Lord' by the Angels, that is *tesbīḥ*, occurs again in the latter half of the verse quoted here in

part. It would be noticed that thronging round the Lord's Sublime Throne by the Angels is akin to their walking round the Divine Throne as the sole object of their devotion.

Now turning to the subtle idea itself behind the original line of the poet's verse! Reading between the lines we see the fifth of the Counsellors of the Arch-Devil pays a flattering compliment to the Chief for his stand and satirises the Angels upon their conduct, with regard to obeisance to Adam. Here, we are reminded of that grand episode in the cosmic drama of creation—the ancient story of the Fall of Adam, the favourite theme not only with Iqbāl, but with some other creative poets, Such as Goethe and Milton, which inspired epics like *Faust* and *Paradise Lost*. The words thus addressed by his admiring Counsellor to *Iblīs* imply an insinuative remark directed against the devout Arch-Angels, the exalted dwellers of the Sublime Empyrean. It was Satan, the first rebel in the Kingdom of God, who, in utter defiance of the Lord's Command, bluntly refused to prostrate before Adam; while the Angels, the constant votaries of the Almighty, bowed down readily and meekly to Adam when bidden to do so.

Incidentally, Iqbāl has given an entirely new meaning to Satan's defiant attitude and his self-assertiveness in the face of the Lord's behest to prostrate before Adam. The poet betrays admiration—a tendency shared in common by the English poet Milton—of Satan for his independence and audacious stand, for his own doctrine of the Self finds its original expression in the Lucifer's self-affirming conduct. Ultimately, the Ego, when subordinated to Divine Law, is Islāmised, that is to say, restrained and disciplined : should the Ego be not submitting to Divine Law it turns Satanic, that is, transgressing and havoc-spreading.

XXXI. Though the wizards[35] of Europe all are disciples to thee.
No longer have I faith in their sagacity left.

The point is lucidly brought home that the Archfriend's wilful persistence in refusing to prostrate himself before Adam demonstrated his strength, who thus displayed his personal sense of self-respect and thereby preserved his distinctive individuality. The sarcastic remark by Satan's Counsellor carries as satirical flash pointedly aimed and directed at the exalted Angels who, ever given to singing praises to their Lord and glorifying His name and even going round the Divine Throne in perfect devotion to Him, were denied a sense of self-respect and utterly failed to assert themselves and allowed their personal pride to be humbled before that 'object of clay'—Man. Thus put to shame for all time by Satan's self-respecting attitude, the high ranking Angels are said to stand self-humiliated in their own eyes and lowered in their own estimation, whereas the proud prince of Darkness having preserved his independent personality moves about triumphantly, with his head raised high. (For the other, the better known, shade of meaning of the *Tawāf*, in connection with the Islāmic pilgrimage, see Note 13 *ante*.)

35. The reader will mark the pleasant note of transition. The politicians, statesmen and diplomats of modern Europe, who are the Devil's faithful disciples, in diabolical conspiracy with the Arch-Devil, have established an indecent and unjust World Order. Their methods being too old and primitive and now so easily comprehended by ordinary intellects, one of Satan's Counsellors gives vent to his loss of confidence in them as wise, sagacious and far-sighted statesmen and politicians.

XXXII. That Jew,[36] the trouble maker, that rèincarnation of 'Mazdak':[37]

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36. This alludes to Karl Marx, German economist of Jewish parentage. Nikolai Lenin (1870-1924), the prominent Russian revolutionist, whose real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, was inspired by Marx's Socialistic creed. As the faithful disciple of Karl Marx he furthered the Communist cause by his works, especially elucidating the practical aspects Marxism in his important economic work, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. After 1903, Lenin was the recognised leader of the left wing of Russian Socialists, being the leading spirit of the uncompromising revolutionary group, known as the *Bolsheviki*. Carrying on a relentless struggle against Tsraism, he organized and led the Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917. overthrowing the government of the Czar and seizing all political power. With the historic Socialist Revolution of 1917, came the fall of the Czar which once for all put on end to the long tyrannous regime of the Russian despots.

In 1917, after the formal abolition of Czardom, Nikolai Lenin officially founded the U S.S.R. and himself headed the Soviet Union for eight years (1917-1924). Lenin devoted himself to the application of Marxism to the economic and political development of Russia and subsequently of the whole world. Nikolai Lenin was the founder of the Soviet Republics and the Communist International. From 1917 to his death in 1924, Lenin remained the active head of the proletarian Socialist Soviet Republic

Every tunic is about to be rent to shreds and tatters by his frenzy.

XXXIII. Behold! The desert crow is vying with the falcon and the hyaena :

Lo, how swiftly the disposition of Time does allow of a change !

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37. The economic thinker of ancient Persia, who long before Karl Marx started expounding his peculiar economic theories in the West, conceived the idea of a socialistic system of economic equality. This early prophet of Communism appeared during the reign of the great Persian monarch, Anūshīrwān the Just (531-579 A.D.), known as Khusrae I. Mazdak became a Zoroastrian high priest when only a young man. He founded a separate school of thought, his philosophy being a a modification of Manichaeism, a religio-philosophical system founded by the great Persian mystic Mānī (215–276 A.D.). This ancient mystic of Persia, who was a painter as well as a religious leader, flourished in the reign of the Persian King Shāhpūr I (241–272 A.D.). He preached a form of Gnostic faith, in which Alexandrian philosophy was mixed with Christian doctrine and the old Persian belief in the dual principle of Good and Evil.

Mazdak, who lived in Persia about A.D. 500, was the chief protagonist of a cult which proposed to eradicate the causes of hatred among men by allowing property and women to be enjoyed in common. He gained considerable influence under the Persian King Kawādh, but his doctrines were disliked by the

rich, and after a political upheaval he and his followers were massacred. This spelled the subsequent ruin of the peculiar socialistic system as propagated by Mazdak and his zealous adherents.

Like Mānī, Mazdak taught that the diversity of things sprang from the mixture of two independent, eternal principles—Light and Darkness. He maintained that since matter possessed neither intelligence nor will, it could not be aggressive. Therefore, spirit must have descended into matter. Mazdak's difference from his predecessor consists in his doctrine that the facts of the mixture of matter and spirit as well as their final separation are quite accidental, and not at all intentional. According to Mazdak, the world is composed of three elements *viz.*, fire, water, and earth. That being which is produced of harmonious and pure combination of the elements is good and that which is polluted and is produced from unequal combination is bad. Mazdak prohibited the eating of flesh and killing of harmless animals, and denounced war and bloodshed.

The ethics of Mazdak is based on the renunciation of all worldly possession, and the most characteristic feature of the Mazdakite teaching is its communism He stressed the equality of men and declared that the notion of individual property was introduced by the hostile demons whose object is to turn God's Universe into a scene of endless misery. It is chiefly this aspect of Mazdak's teaching that was most shocking to the Zoroastrian conscience and brought about the prosecution and destruction of his enormous following by King Khusroe I, and his successors Mazdak himself being beheaded at the age of 68. Legend has it that the master miraculously made the sacred Fire talk, and bear witness to the truth of his mission.

XXXIV. It spread about, and covered the whole expanse of skies :
What we unwisely had taken for a handful of dust.

XXXV. Such is the state of the ghastly dread of the morrow's disturbance :[38]
Today tremble with overwhelming awe, mountains, meadows, and rivulets all.

XXXVI. That world is going to turn topsy-turvy, my Lord!
The world which resteth solely on thy governance.

Mazdak's expression was rather vague, and his views and theories were not so elaborately conceived as those of his Western prototype, Karl Marx. The origin or conception of the socialistic idea is attributed entirely to Karl Marx, although the Persian Communist must share the credit generally given to that Western Socialist. One might well speak of Karl Marx as being the double of Mazdak or, to use the Hindu mythological term, an incarnation (Sans *Avatāra i.e.*, God incarnate as is the Brahmanic doctrine) of Mazdak whose spirit was infused into Karl Marx. (In this connection, readers may refer to Iqbāl's *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, and see *Outlines of Islamic Culture* (vol. I) by Prof. A. M. A. Shushtery.)

38. Given a sense of self-realisation and given courage for self-assertion, the poor and helpless working classes, labouring and drudging hard under unbearable conditions, came to

challenge the authority of those placed higher in life than themselves and defied their jurisdiction over them. The fear is expressed by the Counsellor of the Arch-Devil that because of its increasing influence over people who have realised the benefits it may confer on them, and for being defended by the armed might of a powerful major State, Socialism might one day in future come to be universally accepted as its religion by mankind. This, according to the Devil's Counsellor, strikes a death-blow tò the World Order established under the inspiring guidance of the Arch-Devil. The Counsellors entertain the apprehension that the world, which exists due to the Devil's direction and which is governed by Satan himself, may turn upsidedown and its structure may crumble and collapse in face of the triumphant march of Socialism, conquering the world and prevailing everywhere. Addressing directly the President of the Advisory Council, the Arch-Devil, and calling his master's prompt attention to the gravity of the situation they are actually faced with, the Counsellor utters a timely note of warning against the threatening danger of the decline of the Lord's prestige, the waning of his influence and of the destruction of the ungodly Satanic World Order established by Satan and his faithful followers.

THE ARCH-DEVIL

(To his Counsellors)

At this stage this most expressive poem turns more dramatic in tone : it abruptly becomes more audacious in spirit and grows more vivid in description. The events in the drama move swiftly, and the effect is so powerfully heightened. Speeches have been made by the Members of the Devil's Supreme Council of Action which meets under the presidentship of Satan. The Members of the Advisory Council of Satan take stock, by turns, of the success or failure of their activities giving an account of their victories and defeats in their attempt to mislead humanity and to lure mankind away from the straight path of Virtue to the crooked passage to Vice.

The Members having delivered their speeches, the leader at the Devil's Parliament rises to give his own realistic impressions of the things happening around and delivers his eloquent and thoughtful concluding discourse, lucidly reviewing the present world situation. Addressing his coterie of Counsellors, Satan speaks of the imminent explosive situation, and raises the ominous threat of a global conflagration which proved literally true with the outbreak of the second World War of 1939-45.

The instructive epilogue, furnished by the inspiring extempore harangue of *Iblis*, is well extended over three distinct phase with a logical thread running all along. His Imperial Majesty the Satan

forms definits plans for further operations and formulates his official programme for future action. The three separate passages, which constitute the Arch-Devil's brilliant address, comprising the Speaker's personal closing remark and views, represent a refreshing combination of lofty thought and noble poesy, of high imagination and deep melody the peculiar beauty of Iqbal' sartistic skill, the supreme wonder of this poetic art. The grand play is brought to its stirring end with the closing emphatic words of the leading Star—Satan.

XXXVII. Absolute command have I of the world of scent and hue ![39]

The earth, the sun, the moon, and the firmaments all !

XXXVIII. With their own eyes shall the West and East witness the Spectacle.[40]

When I but warm the blood of the nations of Europe.

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39. *Jahān-i-Rang-o-Bū*, in the original, and *Jahān-i-Abo-Gil* (the world of earth and water, *i.e.*, elements)—these familiar Persian phrases indicate the world of matter, as opposed to the world of spirit, which is indicated by *Jahān-i-Soz-o-Sāz* (the world of beauty and endeavour).

40. Here are quite interesting o bservations from the chair and enlightening comments by the Leader of the House, the Arch Devil, on the discourses delivered and parleys held by his leading Counsellors, the fellow-Devils. The exultant Fiend

XXXIX. The leaders of politics and the patriarchs of church all :
Once call from me would be enough to drive them mad.

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asserts his undisputed authority and declares the world of matter to be under his unquestionable jurisdiction. His Satanic Majesty presumes that he enjoys the supreme command of the dark forces of the material world. The Evil Genius pretends to be holding absolute sway of the realm of the temporal sphere and poses as the supreme Lord of the imperishable Satanic Kingdom of Earth.

The worship of material progress is what has mattered with modern Europeans since their rise to political power and economic superiority, the unavoidable result of his insatiable craving after power and pleasure was the creation of hostile groups armed to the teeth and determined to destroy each other whenever and wherever their respective interests clashed.

This beautiful verse here commented upon contains a fore-cast, a prophecy by the poet-sag about the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. The gigantic world conflict of 1939—45, with its nerve-racking scientific horrors broke out one year and a quarter after the death of Iqbāl, as it has long been predicated by him and the prediction did literally come true. (The poem under comment, with its prophetic forecast of the war, was written in 1936 : the World War actually broke out in September, 1939, lasting as long as nearly six years and terminating in August, 1945.) The respective interests of the beligerent powers, then engaged in mortal hostilities, at last come to a clash : their blood

XL. A simple soul ! who considers this civilization[41] as mere glassblowing work :
Let him only dare smach its goblets and if he can.

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was warmed and their wild and deadly race for armaments culminate in a global armed conflict. The warring nations, with their political leaders and religious heads, were all driven mad and were feverishly distracted by the grave concern of safeguarding vested national and imperialistic interests, and consequently, world witnessed the violent conflagration which had embroilet not only the Democracies and the Totalitarian powers but also the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

41. Stimulated by the Devil's inspiration, the European intellectuals, scientists and philosophers have evolved a civilization which recognises only the necessity of submitting to economic or national requirements, and its real, living philosophy is expressed in the Will to Power for power's sake. In its spirit and character, the modern Western civilization has become the heritage of the old Roman civilization, albeit intellectually more refined and materially more progressive than the latter. The Arch-Devil declares the Western civilization to be standing on foundations, too stable to be shattered or even shaken at all by frail human efforts. Satan asserts that the material Western civilization, having stable foundations and further consolidated by western nations, through the Devil's inspiration and constantly supported by his gang, must defy all attempts at its destruction from whatever direction they may be forthcoming, and only a simple fellow would dare think this civilization was fragile like a piece of glass, and it stood on shifty sands.

Here is what may seem to be a case of Islām *versus* the West! Undoubtedly, as God Almighty's final, universal Message directed to the entire human race, Islam is perfectly compatible with all phases of human development steadily proceeding apace just in Nature's course, the spirit of this Faith unfolding itself afresh in all climes and ages. However, despite the Westernizers' desperate attempts and the modernists' ill-advised distortion of facts and matters, the compatibility of the teachings of Islam with the demands of the civilization of modern West, which is an essentially disparate culture, is neither desirable nor warranted. The genuine culture of Islam could never be reconciled with the spirit of modern Western civilization, both having entirely different foundations and spring from different fountainheads, with divergent ideologies and attitudes, and opposite aims and functions. Islamic civilization could only survive and even flourish if it were made to live independently of and untarnished by Western influences that do pose a serious threat to a resurrection of the true Muslim Society in modern times, when the only way acceptable and to be adopted in the Western way.

Then, there are the protagonists of Westernization—the foremost amongst them are the self-seeking rulers and the short-sighted intellectuals—that have sprung up like weeds in our days all over the Muslim world. They, in abject servitude, with no independent views and judgment of their own, would readily be prone to serving the Western Lords meekly, crying themselves hoarse in favour of the West and its conventions and its institutions. It is they, beyond doubt, from whom the socio-cultural organism of Islam is most seriously menaced, and its prospects as the universal Faith and Culture of mankind are wellnigh destroyed. The fact, which is by no means controvertible, can

hardly be overstressed that the vast majority of modern educated Muslims in all the countries that go by the name of the Muslim world no longer look to Islam for their source of inspiration in thinking, both at individual and communal levels, as well as in the diverse activities of the present-day complex life beset with perplexities which are so difficult of solution. Having ardently embraced 'Westernism' as their creed, they are inspired and guided by Western concepts, values, practices and institutions alone.

All the Oriental nations, the Muslim peoples included, have helplessly succumbed to the here of Western, civilization. They are all dazed and irresistibly impressed by the dazzling exterior of European culture. No intellectual courage remains, no spiritual urge is left to resist and defy the incursion and dominance of Western civilization, with its genius so jealously wedded to materialism and ruthlessly cutting at the roots of higher human values and nobler religious ideals. To undertake struggle and to launch a crusade for smashing this monster of the civilization of the West was apparantly out of the question !

Indeed, Westernization today is the greatest hindrance in the re-implementation of the Islamic scheme of life and things! The fact of the matter is that modern Western civilization, utterly materialistic in spirit and outlook, is fundamentaly irreligious and intensity anti-religious, and so it is plainly anti-Christian too. Its spirit being so bitterly hostile to religion, even Christianity has fared miserably and suffered irrepairably at the hands of this godless civilization. How could, then, it justifiably be supposed that this civilization should be favourable and conducive to Islam as a socio-cultural polity predominantly based on religion?

XLI. The collars once torn asunder by the hand of Nature :

These could'nt be darned with the needle of the Mazdakite logic.[42]

XLII. How could I be frightened by these Socialists,[43] straying about the street ?

Wretched and straitened, distracted in mind, incoherent in speech!

That both Western and Islamic civilizations could possibly co-exist in the life of the community would simply be unimaginable to a sensible person. Either of the two must be discarded and done away with, so that the one so preferred and embraced alone should guide and dominate a people in its multifarious life-activity.

42. This remark coming from the Arch-Devil points to the socialistic principles developed in the economic system proposed by Mazdak. This early prophet of Communism may justly be called the Karl Marx of the East. (For that Persian thinker see ("*ānte*. 37)" Here the term is used in its general, wide sense, being related simply to the economic system *i.e.*, Communism, initiated by Karl Marx. The Devil's point of contention is that the disturbances being created and the wrongs committed on earth, owing to an inequitable distribution of wealth and because of popular lust for accumulation and hoarding of wealth at others' cost, could not be remedied by such an artificial device as Socialism, or some other politico-economic system.

43. Here, the Arch-Devil declares that he anticipates no danger from the so-called Sociallsts or Communists of modern

Soviet Russia. In developing to the stage of the personal dictatorship of the individual, Soviet Communism, which began as a dictatorship of the proletariat, has gone beyond the conceptions of the masters of Socialism. Instead of promoting economic equality amongst masses, these Socialists have directed their energies to other less constructive channels. Those risen to power from amongst them are taking themselves to the practices of their forebears whose ways they themselves had condemned and whose despotic powers they had denounced in no less strong terms, when being themselves amidst weak and helpless people. The utterances of the devout Socialists mostly lack in coherence and their persuasion tends to defeat its very purpose and their dialectics fails to convince the sensible people. Most of the people, who have thus been converted to the creed of Socialism, find themselves to be having little influence to exert upon others to win them over to their side and have few resources to make thereby their own existence felt by others, and their condition remains as deplorable as cver.

Marxian Communism, which started as an eeonomic philosophy in the historical process, was but a strong reaction to the capitalistic set-up of Western society. In its pronounced anti-religious attitude, Communism amounted to a revolt against, and even a challenge to, the conventional corrupted and lethargic Christian Church of the West. It grew into a potential socio-economic force in the course of time until, at long last, it became the very basis of the economic structure and of State administration in Soviet Russia under Lenin (1917-1924), after the Great War of 1914-18. Developed to that stage, Communism as an ideological creed came to assume a peculiar international character, with a universal appeal to the exploited

XLIII. The only menace I anticipate may come from that Community[44] :

Which still a spark of ambition hidden in its ashes retains.

XLIV. Scattered among this *people* are still to be seen *a few* souls : *Who* go so far as to perform their ablutions with tears in the pure hour of dawn.

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and downtrodden working classes all over the world. Then, emerging as the supreme socio-political power of the day, Communism posed and even behaved as the staunch champion of the rights of labour against the usurping capitalist class. In recent times, however, after the fall of Japan as the major world Power in Asia and with the rise of modern China, another Asian nation, as the first-rate Communist Power in the world, Communism, in actual practice, has been steadily renouncing its original outlook and aims, relapsing into a compromising attitude towards a reactionary and aggressive force like Imperialism, and fast proceeding to turn into what may be called the modern opportunist Soviet Revisonism. As an ideology, Communism is now getting into a state of disintegration and as a society, it is already finding itself in a state of turmoil.

44. Note the transition from storm to stress. The progression, now rising and then falling in harmony, is beautifully maintained by the gifted artist. Here is the crux of the case! The humiliation of the Muslim world, caused by the decadence of the Muslims, is no doubt bottomless. But this cannot be the end. There is a way to regeneration, and it is clearly visible

to everyone who has eyes to see. *Iblīs*, the sworn Enemy of the Muslim, can think of only one danger and it may be forthcoming from the Muslim Community (*Ummat-e-Muslimah*). The Devil is constantly menaced by the dread that *Islām* constitutes a potential threat to the godless plan of things designed by Satan and his confederacy, and the righteous *Muslims* constituting a perpetual menace to the prevailing world organisation, with the Arch-Devil as its presiding deity.

There are a number of individual Muslims who still are swayed by the desire to see the old Order of Islam established on Earth and take delight in recalling and thinking of its pristine glory. They fervently pray at hours, when the world is fast asleep, with tears standing in their eyes and streaming down their cheeks: they also strive to the extent of their capacity for the return of those glorious bygone days of Islam. In dreary seclusion, at those solitary moments preceding dawn the earnest souls of the Faithful few, animated by the burning fervour, fly back to come in unison with those of their fellows of the earliest days. Overtaken by a peculiar psychic mood whose thrill is little experienced by the degenerate man, the tears rise in their eyes, silently trickle down the eyes and slip down the cheeks, the lips quiver, the heart throbs, and the whole body shakes with the intensity of their feelings.

Satan is only afraid of those Muslims lest they should seize power again and bring the world back to the days when the World Order, as represented in the transcendent system of Islam, had been established by the early Believers—the World Order which had ensused true peace, happiness, plenty, Justice, progress, freedom and equality for all mankind, say the genuine Islamic millennium —the blissful, long dreamed of period the

XLV. Knows he to whom are revealed the inner secrets of Time

Not Mazdakism[45] but *Islam* is to be the trouble of the morrow.

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soul of humanity in its present mortal anguish is yearning for.

45. This word originates from 'Mazdak' and refers to the socialistic system as conceived by him. (For Mazdak and his work the reader may refer to Note 37 *ante.*) The term 'Mazdakism' is here used metaphorically: it simply signifies Socialism, or Communion.

The Tempter dispels the apprehensions harboured by his Counsellors with regard to the progress of Socialism in the world. They are under the impression that with the victorious march of Socialism, rather Communism, as one paramount power of political significance, the godless scheme of things as designed by them would suffer annihilation. Satan watches the possible re-rise of Islam to power with deep apprehension. He severely warns his fellow-Devils against the horror of their easy, complacent connivance at the probable ultimate triumph of the Islamic concept of life over the various socio-political ideologies in vogue, inspired and sustained by the sinister influence of the dark Satanic powers.

The Arch-Devil opens his Counsellors' eyes to the fact that those conversant with the inward spirit of the times and in contact with the trends of the modern political movements and socio-economic creeds are fully awake to the knowledge that it is *Islām,* not the supposed Socialism or Communism, which is to make its influence felt by the world at some future time and

This is the most important and valuable part of the poem, as Iqbal herein lucidly brings out, in his characteristic manner, through the mouth of Satan himself, the essence of the sublime Islamic teachings. The session of the Assembly given a

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consequently be accepted by it as the universal religion of mankind.

Satan and his confederates, of course, dread the prospect of the re-rise of Islām to power, and shudder at the thought of its re-emergence as the dominant social force and the all-conquering vital ideology, and as the potential cultural factor in the present-day life, world affairs and conditions, exerting tremendous moral and spirtual influence over the minds of people. So, what Satan really fears as the danger to his power on earth is a resurgence of true Islām.

There may be yet another hades of meaning, a deeper one, lurking in the significant closing verse of the first passage of the Arch-Devil's concluding discoure. The first distich of this verse may be rather taken as pointing, more than referring to anybody, to the Devil himself, who is exceptionally gifted with a penetrating insight. Initiated into the very inward nature of times as he is, *Iblīs* arrogates to himself the enviable privilege, rather prerogative, of possessing the inner knowledge of things. Satan, as he would over, is actually enjoying an intimate contact with the unforeseen, mysterious trends of Time and of modern movements, and knows full well that the real menace, if any, could only be anticipated in future from *Islām*. It is bound to strike a death-blow to his own godless plan of things, should Islam once be allowed to re-assert itself and force its re-rise.

dramatic turn, the debate is wound up and the meeting dissolved, the gathering dispersing, with a brilliant closing discourse by the Hon'ble President, the Arch-Devil. The poet's fine artistic touch drives home the glorious beauty of the powerful verse.

XLVI. I do know this *Community* is no longer the bearer of the *Quran*
The very Capitalism forms the creed of the *Believer*[46] now !

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46. The Muslims have long since ceased following the genuine teachings of Islam. They have taken to and, ultimately, have so hopelessly given themselves up to the worship of Mammon and the material comforts of this life. *Islām* is no longer their Foith, *Allāh* no Lord, *Qu'rān* no Scripture, *Ka'bah* no Temple, *Meccā* no *Qiblah*, *Mustafā* no Prophet. Capitalism is the religion the Musalmāns of today practically profess, and plutocracy is the government their loyalties are directed to. Mammonism is the Deity they believe in and offer worship to.

Blindly following in the footsteps of the non-Muslim peoples, who are thoroughly devoted to earthly life and its pleasures, the present-day Musalmāns have developed the same lust of gold and the same spirit of worship for the ready, though transitory, benefits and comforts of this worldly life as the non-Muslims. Having lost contact with the genuine teaching of Islām and lost sight of the nobler ideals represented by this Faith, they have embraced Capitalism as their cherished creed,

XLVII. And I know, too, that on the dark night of the Orient.

The sleeve of the saints of the Sanctury[47] is bereft of the white, illuminative hand.[48]

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and are rapidly turning into a yet another class of soulless capitalists, exclusively dedicated to the petty cares and joys of mundane life. Having grown to be the privileged and distinctive class of moneyed people, these blind worshippers of riches and wealth have steadily been made extremely and notoriously money-oriented creatures. No longer the jealoūs custodians of the wisdom of Qur'ān and the torch-bearers of the Divine Message of Islām, as were the righteous ancestors of the days of yore, and robbed of all sense of self-respect, the Modern Muslims are fast degeneratiug into dumb-driven crowds of renegades from the True Religion.

The Qur'ānic prohibition, most definite in impart and emphatic in tone, of interest on loans and of hoarding of wealth makes Capitalism as ā creed incompatible with Islām and renders it repulsive to the better sense of humanity. This, in turn, contributes to a cultivātion of the higher spirit of charity and self-sacrifice in men.

47. *Haram* in the text, *i.e.*, the *Ka'bah* in Mecca. The *Ka'bah* is the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Islam and forms the nucleus and heart of the Muslim world. The *Ka'bah* symbolizes the Oneness of God. The bodily movements of the pilgrims in the *Tawāf* symbolize the activity of human life. That the Muslims face in their prayers a central point common to them alone has powerfully contributed to that instinctive feeling of unity which

XVIII. The importunities of the present age, however, spell the apprehension:

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to this day, in spite of so many differences and sectarian dissensions, binds the Muslims together into one single *ummah* and makes them realise that they are a group of their own, different from the rest of the world.

The foremost goal of the Islamic pilgrimage is the assembling of Muslims from different parts of the world. They shall learn to understand one another and know the needs of Muslim countries other than their own. And this is the practical method of promoting the great Commonwealth of Islam, the brotherhood of men bound together by the same ideal of devotion to God, Whose Oneness, as also the unity of all Muslims, is symbolized in the *qiblah* of Mecca.

Muslims stand and fall with the loyalty to the *Ka'bah*. The fountain of Islam sprang forth from the *Ka'bah* : to this source flowed down the mass of water from the Prophet's Mosque at al-Madinah. In the following sublime verse of Iqbāl, Islam is symbolized as *Ka'bah* and the Muslim represented as the deer who, while in the vicinity of the *Sanctuary*, is free and immune from all danger: while the non-Muslim is shown as the huntsman who, despite his quiver, *cannot* shoot an arrow, killing of game being strictly prohibited in the sacred precincts.

The metaphor is significant. That was true when the Muslims were true to Islam, faithfully adhered to the Faith and jealusly conformed themselves to its principles and teachings. Now, woe betide us, the situation is different: the Muslim has repudiated Islam and his estrangement is visible. Thrown away

from the invulnerable citadel of Islam; the hapless finds himself defenceless. He *falls* an easy prey to the encroachment of a virile nation which acts the aggressor. Thus alavery and humiliation is his lot !

از سواد کعبہ چون آهو رمید
ناوک صیاد پهلواش درید

"As the deer fled from the territory of *Ka'bah*:
The huntsman's arrow pierced its side."

To the *Ka'bah* the Mnslims owned their former greatness and glory. The *Ka,bah* is Muslims' basic social conception, and a revival of Islam and the Muslims' own regeneration must spring from that very source. With Iqbal, as with a few other illustrious Muslim thinkers of his status and calibre, Islam is the *sine qua non* for a resurrection of the Muslim Commounity (*Ummat-ul-Muslimah*) and its possibls re-rise to the pinnacle of glory and power.

48, This alludes to one of the important miracles grantsd to Prophet Moses for the vidication of the Truth he had received from the Lord Almighty. When the Israelite Prophet lifted his sleeve, there would be vlsible his extremely white, radiant hand which, with its brilliant lustre, dazzled the human eyes and the wizards of the godlsss Egyptian Pharaoh, with all their black art, were rendered helpless and incapacitated to work any wonder to counteract the effects of the right phenomenon brought about by the Hebrew Prophet's miracle, until the Truth demonistrated by Moser prevailed.

For the white, shining hand of Prophet Moses, turn to the Holy Qur'ān: part ix, *surah* vii, sec. 13, 108 ; part xvi, *surah* xx,

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4. *Israr-i-Khudi : Tamhid*, or Prologue.

Lest the *Shariah*[49] of the Prophet should come, perforce, to light one day.

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sec. 1, 22; part xix, *surah* xxvi, sec. 2, 33, and part x4, *surah* xxviii, sec. 4, 32; and refer to the Book of Exodus, Old Testament, ch. 4, v. 6.

In Islam the "white hand" of Moses has passed into a proverb. for a symbol of Divine glory dazzling to the beholders.

The distich in the Urdu contains one of those brilliant flashes of poetic inspiration which are so typical of Iqbal's poetry, but so impossible to reproduce in English Iqbal, in his characteristic lucid manner, employing a metaphorical language, impresses on the Muslims, through the mouth of the Arch-Devil, the stark reality that the religious leaders and spiritual guides of the Muslims possess no merits and no virtues worthy of men of their position. They have impotent spirituality debased morality and poor intelect, and can command no influence and compel no respect of their co-religionsts or of the others.

49. The world has conceived, devised and tried a myriad of remedies for the various woes it has long tasted of and the numerous ills it has suffered from so long for its over-reliance on the self-sufficiency of human intellect and its guiding capacity, and for ignoring its factual need of an unfailing practical guidance (*hidāyah*), so well afforded by the perfect religion of *Islām*. Satan is obviously oppressed by and obsessed with the fear that the trend of the present age, when all other movements and creeds have failed in their purpose, is a pointer to the stern fact that the eternal Divine Law, as contained in the universal

Message of Islam, might come to disclose and assert itself in the not too distant future.

The *Sharī'at* of the Holy Prophet, the Revealed Islamic Canonic Law, is concerned both with the individual and social aspects of human life. The so-called "Materialism" of the Islamic *Sharī'ah* is nothing but a recognition of the complex quality of life. *Islām* is the ideal programme of Life according to the rules of Nature which God the Most High has decreed upon His creation and its supreme achievement is the complete co-ordination of all realities of life—and the wonderful co-ordination of the spiritual and material aspects of human life.

With its due stress on the golden mcan, Islam teaches individualism as well as collectivism, thus exercising a salutary and moderating influehce on the seemingly different, even conflicting, propensities, emotions and faculities man is endowed with by nature. Islām is the momentous alternative to modern ideologies, as Communism, and democratic Capitalism and yet any other 'ism whatsoever. It is the perfect Code of Life decreed upon man by Providence which does not stand for withdrawal from life; and this code is to be followed by mankind in all spheres of life-activity, apparently so complex and diversified in these days. Further, Islām practically lays down and emphasises principles of social and economic justice which are by all means amenable to practice. Verily, the path of Islām is the only right path and the Faith of *Islām* the only True Faith (*Dīn-e-Haq*)!

It should be instructive, in this context, to notice, by contrast, the charateristic one-sided view of Life and matters represented by European culture of today, as opposed to that of Islam which does practically embrace Life in its entirety. One

XLIX. Beware, a hundred times beware, of the *Law*[50] of the Prophet !

·The protector of women's honour, the tester of men's capacities, the rearer of worthy men!'

Aye ! It's a death warrant to any kind of slavery.

'No sovereign and no monarch, no road-side beggar !'

LI. 'It does purify wealth and purges it of all pollution'

'It does make the rich but trustees of wealth and property.'

LII. What greater revolution in thought and deed could there be !

'Not to the crowned Heads, but to the Lord alone does this *Earth* belong !'

LIII. Better, if this *Law* be kept hidden from the world's eye

So much the better, the *Believer* himself is deprived of inner *conviction*.

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is simply spell-bound and thrilled to watch the amazing scientific progress, highly mechanised industry, advanced technology, brilliant cultural virility, and material ascendancy of the modern West, with its gigantic strides towards economics and other emperic sciences, and its marvellous achievements in the various fields of human activity. All these phenomena may but tend to pale into insignificance, failing far short of the vast programme of Life and the scheme of things, with their infinite possibilities

both on this Earth and in the Hereafter. as envisaged in the divinely-revealed, all-embracing and all-comprehensive system of *al-Islām*.

The Speaker, here, strikes a note of warning to his Counsellors and his followers against the probable triumph of the Islāmic Law which must hasten the end of their anti-God rule.

50. Islām is specially strong in guarding the reputation of women, and assigns to them a social status hardly lower than that allowed to men. The constitution of Islām concedes women adquate legal protection and rights similar to those enjoyed by men. Feminine emancipation in its constructive from is so well provided in the Islāmic social system. The so-called emancipation of the womenfolk, strongly advocated by modern West and achieved by all Western and Westernised nations, nu-happily represents its unhealthy aspect. By virtue of its teaching Islām emphatically lays down the vital principle of the equality of all humans in the eye of Divine Law, and does provide justly and indiscriminately equal opportunities for development to every individual member of the community. *Islām* aims at developing a human society with stable moral foundations, its members being deephearted men and women of action, capable and courageous, possessing a specific culture and having a peculiar attitude towards things and matters and an essentially dynamic outlook on Life and Nature.

The Law of Islām in fact, so amply borne out by history, deals a death-blow to any kind of slavery, political or intellectual or spirtual. Its message was, so to say, a death-warrant to every shape of servitude. With the advent of Islām in the world and its emergence as a potential world-force, various systems of monarachy and the imperial authority of sovereign were wiped

out. The Law of Islam cuts at the very root of Imperialism, be it in any form, leaving little chance for a despot or a monarch, as head of the State, to exploit and oppress the people. By the vital Islamic teaching of self-reliance and independence, beggary, with its attending mendicant orders, was completely eradicated. The Prophet's Law practically encourages and emphasises the pursuit of honest livelihood by fair legal means, and purifies the wealth thus accumulated, purging it of all pollution, by imposing a sacred tax (*zakāh*) on the well-to-do people. This goes to ensure fair dispersal of material wealth, therby effectively preventing the accumulation and concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals and families in the community.

Islam, by its institution of the sacred taxes, including the obligatory poor-tax called *zakāt*, ensures and actually effects fair circulation and distribution of wealth, thus bringing about economic equity in the community. This consequently, eliminates the slur of beggary from society, and also does prevent the stagnation of wealth into a few hands, with all its attendant evils. The Islamic institution of the sacred tax (*zakāt*) is a symbol of social obligatiou and symbolizes man's, social duties in their widest sense. In the economic Order of Islām fondness for wealth is diminished and the nobler spirit of charity and self-sacrifice cultivated. Socially all men are situated equally in the eye of the Divine Law of Islām and are practically assured of even and fair justice in the socio-economic system of the Faith. Above all, the Law makes the rich not absolute owners of their wealth and property, but rather it would have them as the trustees. The Islamic Law goes to curb germs of copitalistic tendencies by requiring the financially more fortunate people to treat and conduct themselves as mere trustees of their fortune.

In Islām supreme authority and sovereignty ultimately vests

in Allāh, Who is the master and absolute owner of all earthly belongings and possessions formally entrusted to man in his capacity as the Lord's Vicar. The true, ultimate spirit of the economic aspect of the teaching of Islām is by all means that of noble 'trnst' and by no means individual ,ownership' ; and the the righteous Muslim's conduct, as governed by the peculiar economics of the Faith, must definitely be that of the trustee or custodian, and *not* one of the exclusive owner and exploiter thriving and fattening on 'private property.' The true economy of Islām, with its revelational basis, is decidedly neither capitalistic nor socialistic, nor communistic, nor even democratic. Representing as it does the Will and Decree of the One Supreme Lord, the balanced and just economic Order of Islām is radically divergent and different from the extremist and unjust economic systems represented by Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism —systems and creeds which are conceived and designed by the perverted and misguided intellect of man.

So the economic side of Islām reveals itself to the earnest seeker after truth as the golden Divine mean between the two man-created extremes, those of the Capitalist and the Socialist economic patterns. True Islāmic economy is, then, nothing else but noble Divine Trust provisionally transferred to man as the Lord's Representātive on Earth, while the real Owner of al l things is the Lord Himself.

[5]در حقیقت مالک ہر شے خدا است
این امانت چند روزہ نزد ماست

"In fact the Owner of each and everything is the Lord alone :

All this is but 'trust' with us for a few days numbered."

5. *Jawed Namah.*

Further the fundamental Islāmic belief in one living Supreme Belng, exercising absolute power, brings burning conviction to the devout Beliver and supplies him with a dynamic force and a passionate urgue eventually leading to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. The Law of Islām chollenged the forces of Imperialism and destroyed imperialism in any from and brought about the destruction of imperialist powers. With the East and the West belonging to the One Omnipotent God, the revolutionary Message of Islām heralds a revolt against the anti-God forces of tyrannous Autocracy and powers of despotic Imperial authority. Islām demands its loyalty not to thrones, but to God. It does not teach throne-worship, but preaches unreserved submission to the One Supreme, Absolute Creator; the Lord of all the worlds. Islām calls for the individual's complete self-surrender to the Will of God, for the individual human Ego, when it is graced by its merging contact with the Ultimate, Divine Ego and attains to everlasting life and vigour in Him, becomes instrumental in fortifying and immortalising the collective Ego of the community.

Islām went further : it established the sovereignty of Divine Rule on the Earth, so that Divine Law alone reigned supreme. No greator and mighter revolution was ever wrought in the world of human thought, emotion and deed.

Sovereign and monarch, in translation, stand for *Faghfoor-o-Khāqān*, in the urdu original. The former connotes a ruling prince, a sovereign. It was a regal title of the rulers of medieval China. The latter, *viz. Khāqān*, Turkish in origin, is an equivalent and variant for the Tatar *Khān* (chief or lord), this being the more popular form. The title was borne by the supreme ruler of Turkish, Tartar, and Mangol tribes, and by the emperor

LIV. Better, that *he* remains absorbed and entangled in the maze of Divinity[51]
Better, that *he* remains absorbed and entangled in the interpretations[52] of God's Book.

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of China and the king of Turkistān, in the Middle Ages (1000-1500 A.D.).

51. *Iblīs* goes on to exhort his Counsellors and through them the entire community of his staunch adherents to further endeavours and to an intensification of their efforts to keep the Islamic Canonic Law hidden from the world's eye lest the world, already disgusted with the failure of devices conceived and designed by the Devil-inspired people with a view to ensuring universal peace, happiness, progress, liberty and unity for mankind, should ultimately, and inevitably, be driven to the acceptance of the Law as the only Valid Code of Life.

The Arch-Devil heaves a sigh of relief and this comes to him as a consolation that the present-day Muslim is himself denied the light of conviction and has no faith in the truthfulness and inner strength of his religion. As misfortune would have it, instead of employing their faculties in constructive schemes and fruitful channels and concentrating their attention on such matters and directing their energies to such problems as have direct and tangible bearing on the exigencies of the present-day life, the Muslims have turned to absolutely wasteful practices.

Earnestly devoted to ultra-intellectual pursuits and having the subtle issues of philosophic-metaphysical import for objects of occupation, the Muslim scholastic theologians and the in-

quisitive laymen from among the masses of Muslims have been hopelessly entangled in the maze of Divinity. They have been imperceptibly led on, and have allowed themselves to be lost in the meanderings of theological Divinity, being wholly engrossed in metaphysical problems of intricate character. Controversial and intricate problems of metaphysics and theological philosophy have engaged and absorbed the attention of the so-called religious-minded people and gradually sapped their energies, dragging them off the original and genuine teachings of Islam and blinding them to its true spirit and the noble ideals purpose and it stands for.

52. It is true, in the case of Muslims the original Revelation has not been corrupted or mutilated in the same sense as the older Revealed Books : the text of the *Qurān* still remains intact; but the Sacred Book has been so overloaded by commentators with imaginary and sometimes even conflicting and misleading interpretations that the average Muslim can only with difficulty find his way through this labyrinth. Most of the spirtual miseries and social difficulties of the present-day Muslim world could have been avoided, if only the Muslim learned men and spiritual leaders of the past had cared not to give wilful interpretations to the Holy Book and had intelligently and earnestly looked to the *Word* of God and the *Sunnah* of His Last Prophet for guidance.

While studying the teachings of Islam, the Muslim is bound to accept the interpretation given by Mustafā and his Companions ; with this reservation he is free to use his own intellect and his own conscience. We must build further and higher on the foundations erected by the past generations of Muslims, correcting their oversights here and there—with our vision

Here is a good illustration of a distinguishing feature of Iqbal's art, a fine display of the peculiar charm of his Muse The poet adopts a method, which is at once peculiarly novel and highly effective, to awaken the indifferent and self-complacent sleepers from their long slumber. The Arch-Devil's thoughtful, yet spirited, discourse enters its third and final phase, and the play is naturally made to attain to its dramatic climax. The Devil's utterances tend to become one subtle irony, rather a

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fixed on the unchaneable *Word* of God and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet.

The Muslim thinkers from the second century of the *Hijrah* onwards, with their pedantry, the Muslim scholastic theologians from the fourth century after the Hijrah onwards, with their Greek philosophies and their play of words, and the Muslim Sūfīs, with their own peculiar mystical representation of the religion, and after their own peculiar psychic tastes and their particular bents of mind while pointing out the foundation of mystic theories in the Quran itself, over-laid and dulled the lucid image of Islam, and put such interpretations on the teachings of Islam as generally do not coincide with the intentions of the Holy Prophet and his great Companons and also go counter to the Will of God, from Whom these teachings were revealed for the guidance of mankind This attitude of the Muslims has encouraged the hopes of the Arch-Devil and his confederates who manage to invent devices by which to keep the true original spirit of Islam foreign to the masses of Muslims and thus keep them strenger to the masses of Muslims and thus keep them strangers to the realm of action, eventually driving them to life not represented or preached by pristine *Islām*,

veiled tirade almost developing a tone of offensively derisive audacity ; and the Apollyon gloats on the fruitfulness of his masterly devices and triumphs over the obvious success of his nefarious mission. Then, the inspiring delightful drama draws to its close.

LV. Whose cries[53] of "Allah is Most Great"
could break the charm of the Universe :
May the obscure night of that God-
meditating *mān* never turn bright.

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53. *Takbīr*, in the original. This Arabic term carries several shades of meaning in Islam. It forms an essential part of the Muslim cry summoning the Faithful to Prayer (*adhān* in Arabic), for obligatory congregational service. The *church* functionary announcing the customary call to Prayer is the *mu'adhdhin*, the crier. Apart from its role as a signal for ceremonial prayers and as an indispensable recurring factor in the Muslim *Prayer* (*as-salāt*) the *takbīr* primarily serves as the watchword of Muslims and their war-cry, truly expressive of spiritual thrill and of an indomitable human spirit. The cry Allāh is Most Great" implies the extinction of false gods, Allāh's bondage and self-surrender to His Will practically liberating man from all servitudes.

The ceremonial Muslim call for devotions, *adhān*, of which the *takbīr* is a fragment, is uttered in the ears of a newly-born baby in a Muslim house, intended to help it breathe the genuine religio-intellectual atmosphere from its very birth. Moreover, the *takbīr* is pronounced on animals specifically offered for sacrifice to the Lord, or otherewise slaughtered for private consumption. The ceremonial sacrific in The Lord's name entails greater personal sacrifice in the Lord's Way for a nobler cause. The

LVI. 'Did the son of Mary perish once, or is he blessed with eternal life ?'

'Are the Attributes of God from God separate, or do they form God's True Essence ?'

LVII. 'Does "the expected" betoken Jesus of Nazareth ?'

'Or some "Renewer," endowed with the very attributes of Mary's Son ?'

LVIII. 'Are the letters of the *Word* of God late-born or from Eternity ?'

Which of the beliefs does hold salvation for the blessed *Community* ?

LIX. Are not enough to the *Muslim* in the present age :

These idols[54] of worship carved by theological Divinity ?

LX. Keep *him* for ever a stranger to the realm of action :

That on the chessboard of existence all *his* pawns may be beaten.

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cry is also indicative of a sudden outburst of emotion admiring the glory of God.

54. The Arch-Devil now speaks of the various religious controversies, prevalent in the Muslim world, which has absorbed the attention of the Muslim masses and learned men for

centuries and paralysed their faculties of right feeling and right thinking and directed their employment through less constructive channels. Iqbāl so wisely, through the mouth of Satan, sums up the history of the controversial Muslim theological thought and its problems which have intrigued the Muslim theologians and thinkers and obsessed their minds since their contact with the Creek minds and since the evolution and development of a theological philosophy (*Ilm-e-Kalām*) by the Muslim scholastic theologians *Mutakallimīn*) and religious thinkers. The trouble was aggravated and the matter made worse with the laboured interpretations and bulky commeutaries put, with little restraint, on the *Shar'ī* statutes and laws by specialised Musiim Doctors of Law (legally, in *bl.*, *Fuqahā'*, *sing. Faqīh* or the Jurisprudents).

The Muslims in the earlier centuries of Islam replaced the then existing World Order by the just and decent World Order of Islam and thus ushered in an era of true peace, justice, freedom, prosperity, progress, happiness and unity for mankind. In later times, the Muslims directed their energies to the solution of such controversial theological problems as whether Jesus Christ had died a natural death or, while being crucified, he had been bodily lifted alive high in heavens and there he lived an eternal life. And, whether the Attributes of God the Most High form a part and parcel of His Person and are identical with His True Essence, or they are simply separate and distinct from His Person !

Taught by their scholastic theologians, the masses of Muslims have been all agog for the "Promised Messiah" for scores of decades. They have been for the past several centuries ardently expecting the advent of a Saviour, who might be Jesus

Christ of Nazareth himself sent back to the world to finish his normal span of earthly life, or a Renovator (*Mujaddid*), popularly known as *Mahdī*, possessed of the attributes and virtues of Christ, who would make the tottering structure of Islām triumphant on earth.

Another important problems which has engaged the serious attention of the Muslim religious thinkers for centuries is whether the letters of the Holy Book are New, that is, late-born and of created quality or whether they are Old *i.e.*, from Eternity like as God Himself and being His Attribute, that is, His Revealed *Word* or speech, belong to Pre-beginning, that is to say, whether the Qurān was eternally co-existent with God, aud therefore "uncreated"—or whether it was "created" at the moment of its revelation to the Prophet.

It may be pointed out that the questions here referred to are quite intricate and obviously of a controversial character. These have been found amenable to conflicting interpretations and divergent views. Unprofitable hair-splitting controversies by the rationalists have led to the growth of bulky volumes on these problems of deep metaphysical nature. These peculiar conjectures and doubts were given rise to owing to the appearance of schools of speculative philosophy in the fourth century after the *Hijrah*, especially the Mu'tazalites of the Abbaside days, who were wont to judge Islāmic postulates in the light of Greek philosophy and subjected the simple and practical teachings of Islām to forged rationalism. They cultivated a critical attitude of the mind—an attitude which was woefully ultra-rational. The Mu'tazalites failed to appreciate the limitations of the intellect and did not realise that human intellect

is strictly limited in its possibilities. They unwisely allowed it to intrude upon regions lying decidedly beyond its demarcated frontiers. The rationalistic interpretation of Divine Revelation may not carry us a long way, because of the limited capacity of our intellect, which happens to be organically faulty. This is the zone beyond the grasp of reason, for reason must be guided by Revelation and the intellect has to be directed by it. The consequences of that unwarranted attitude have been appallingly disastrous to Islām as a vital ideology for mankind.

The reference to Jesus Christ is of interest to Jews, Christians, and Muslims for different reasons. The end of the life of Jesus on earth is as much involved in mystery as his birth, and also the greater part of his private life. The Jews were deadly hostile in their attitude towards Christ. They boasted that they killed Jesus, having managed to get him cricified. There prevailed among the early Christian sects many conjectures and differences with regard to the crucifixion of Jesus, his death, and his substitution of the Cross, and even his physical being.

It is a point of doctrine with the Orthodox Christian Churches that Jesus suffered death on the Cross and was buried, that on the third day he rose in the body with his wounds intact, and stayed some time among his disciples, and way afterwards taken up bodily to heaven.

The prevalent view among Muslims, generally accepted as the orthodox one by the sober Muslim theologians, is that Christ was not crucified nor killed by the Jews, but instead some one else bearing Christ's likeness was put to death, and that he was raised in the body to heaven. The Qurān clearly

rejects the version of the crucifixion of Christ. Coupled with this is the common view of orthodox Muslims, almost universally accepted as valid, that Jesus, who still lives in the body in heaven, will reappear on earth just before the Final Day. Imām Mahdi, as leader of the Muslims from among themselves, will be making his appearance first. The coming of Antichrist (*Dajjal*, as he is known to the Muslims), as embodying Evil and Unbelief, will then follow. Dajjāl's coming, in its turn, will be followed by the reappearance of Jesus Christ, son of Virgin Mary, on earth. Then, Dajjāl and with him his followers will be killed at the hands of Christ; and guided and governed by Mahdī and Jesus the world will be purified of sin and unbelief, resulting in the reign of peace and righteousness. In the sequal of events as taking place in the new World Order, Imām Mahdī will be passing away earlier. All the people on earth, as also the Jews and Christians, will have belived in Jesus Christ, before he dies the usual human death, having consummated his mortal earthly life.

The view, rather belief, of the Mahdī's advent has progressively tended to create a precarious position. It has rather given Muslims a false sense of self-complacency which is fraught with grave danger. Instead of inspiring them with stronger faith, nobler courage and a spirit for higher endeavour, which it had been intended to do, the view has made them inactive, lethargic, and stagnant, They are labouring under the delusion that the Saviour shall be appearing in due course to revive the prestige of Islām and secure its ultimate triumph, while they are there just to witness the present sad plight and misery of the world of Islām as disinterested spectators. It is the unhealthy, erroneous conception of the 'Mahdī' thus imbibed by

the decadent Muslims that has cost them so dearly, and must be eradicated if there is to be a hope for the future.

The advent of the "expected" alludes to the second coming of Jesus Christ on earth, coinciding with the pre-appearanc of Imām Mahdī. A study, in an unbiassed spirit, of the relevant Qurān-verses (part VI, *surah* iv, sec. 22, verses 157-159) and the authentic Traditions bearing on the matter (*Sahih al-Bukhari*, part XXIX, *Kitab al-Fitan; Sahih Muslim, Kitāb al-Imam Bab Nazul, Isa ibn Mariyam*, and *Kitab al-Fitan—Bab Dhikr ad-Dajjāl*) will lead a person to form identical views

There is no doubt that the doctrine of the coming of *Mahdī* (the 'guided one'), whom the Faithful await to restore justice and righteousness to the world, was largely influenced by Jewish and Christian Messianic hopes. It seems to be almost a world-wide phenomenon, it being a belief held by many nations, besides the Jews, Christians, and Muslims. They differ in expecting a different man to appear as Redeemer. The belief in the coming of a *Mahdī*, however, appears to be more of popular origin than to be having a valid theological sanctionbe hind it, for it ultimately tends to disruption rather than consolidation. Moreover, this Mahdi legend has given rise to numerous pretenders down to modern times, the belief in the appearance of the Mahdī readily lending itself to imposture.

While discussing the nature of Divine Attributes, as mentioned in the Holy Qu'rān, it should be borne in mind that this is but one of the very delicate questions raised by theological philosophy, called *Ilm al Kalām*. That school of religio-philosophical thought represented by the foremost rationalist philo sophers, known as the Mu'tazalites, sprang into existence uuder

the ominous influence of pagan Creek philosophies. Labouring under Hellenistic influences, possessing sophistic minds and holding heretic trends of thought, they interpreted the Qur'ānic teachings in ultra-rational spirit borrowed from their Greek masters and thus corrupted the simple and practical teachings of pristine Islām by their misleading interpretations.

It must be pointed out that God does not resemble His creatures in any respect. The attributes borne by the Supreme Being may be classified as Personal Attributes and Attributes relating to Divine Activity. The particular Attribute that is ascribed to God, the opposite of which Attribute is not likely to be ascribed to Him, falls under the Personal Attributes, *e.g.*, knowledge is referred to God, the Lord being Omniscient ; while its opposite *i.e.*, ignorance could not possibly, by any stretch of the imagination, be attributed to Him. And the Attributes that could well be ascribed to God, as well as the Attributes opposed to those particular Attributes which, too, could equally and likewise be ascribed to Him, may be categorised as the Attributes relating to Divine Activity, *e.g.*, causing death nnd reviving, since the Lord is at once the Destroyer and the Regenerator. All these Attributes of God, whether strictly Personal Attributes or Attribus relating to Divine Activīty, are eternally co-existent with God. God has borne these Attributes since Pre-beginning (*azal*). Thus, God has existed from Eternity with His Qualities, those belonging to His Essence and those pertaining to His Activity.

As regards Divine Attribules being quite separate from the Person of God or absolutely identical with His True Essence, it must be stated that for the righteous Faithful the Attributes

of God neither form His very Essence nor do they make an entity as something detached from God's Person and alien to His Being. It implies that these Attributes do not constitute what God Himself is, for obviously the attribute in itself is in no way the person himself whom it qualifies, nor are those Attributes held separate from Him, so as to be lying apart and isolated from His Person. That is the only conceivable sane view held by the right-thinking Faithful. The golden mean, *just milien*, is tobe discovered between the two extremes, and Islām rightly lays its stress on moderation and the *via media*. The Mu'tazalite view is that the Attributes of God are but identical with God's True Essenc—a view basically erroneous in its nature.

Coming now to the nature of the Word of God, the Qurān ! The idea of a heavenly tablet is as old as religion itself. Thus, preexistence is ascribed to the Word of God. It may be clarified that just as other Attributes of God are eternally co-existent with Him, His Attribute of Speach, too, eternally co-exists with Him, and is equally 'Old' (*qadīm*) as God Himself. Now, the significance of God's Speech is two-fold : one is the spirit of speech (*kalām-e-nafsī*) which is by all means 'Old,' this Attribute being eternally enjoyed by Him. Through that Attribute the Lord Speaketh to whomsoever He Willeth : this Attribute, as universally admitted, is eternally co-existent with Him. Thus, the Qur'ān is the Word of God by virtue of its being the Lord's Attribute, *i.ə.*, His Attribute of Speech.

The other aspect is what may be defined as the worded speech of God (*kalām-e-lafzī*). The letters and wording of the Holy Book are spoken of as the Word of Allāh or His Speech, because of the *fact* that these are by no means the work of a

person other than Allāh, and it is the One Absolute God Himself Who caused their revelation So, the letters and wording, of the Holy Qur'ān, that is, the original Qur'ānic Text in the Arabic, which represents the worded speech of God, do definitly constitute the Word of God the Most High. Taking into account its meanings and themes, and because of its being God's Attribute. the Qur'ān is rightly held as 'uncreated' (*ghir-makhlūq*) and 'Old' (*qadīm*) implying 'from Eternity'). The Mu'tazalites, in their onesidedness and with their heretical extremist tendencies, concentrated only on the letters and wordings of the Sacred Book and erroneously held it as 'created' (*makhlūc*) and 'New' signifying 'late-borne') (*hādith*).

Again, the source af the spirit and purport of the Word of Allāh, the Qur'ān, is definitely Divine. The spirit of the Sacred Book which is throughout uniform and consistent is divinely inspired, an air of reasoned coherence permeating its entire contents all along. The purport of the Holy Scripture was revealed to the Prophet by the Almighty through Divine Agency. Now, the Spirit of that Divine Word, that Light-manifest ostensibly intended for the guidance of mankind, could be made to contain itself and thus to convey itself to humanity, apparently in a material body and physical form. And, this form, corresponding to that Divine Spirite, which it presently went to incorporate, could not but be the Divine form. For, no human speech, however sublime, could be a match for that Divine Spirite, as the former would simply not bear and carry the latter. Then, the heavenly grandeur and power of the Divine Spirit could be retained and transmitted, only when the original Spirit were appropriately garbed in Divine form, virtually befitting that very Spirit. Hence, the Final Revelation from the Lord, as embodied in the Qur'ān, descended upon the

Last of the Prophets, divinely worded, and incorporated as such in the Divine Language, the contents as well as the wordings (*i.e*, the Arabic Text proper) having been revealed atonce and intact to the unlettered and untutored Arabian Prophet. Divine Revelation is the sum total of inspiration and message : it embodies both the Spirit and the Text, making the two vital factors into one harmonious whole. For the eternal guidance of man and to render it ever intelligible to him, God the Most High communicated so wisely and graciously His Last Message to mankind through His chosen Servant and Emissary, Muhammad Mustafā (on whom be peace and blessings!), in the most subime and divinely-inspired human form of speech.

No translation in human tongue, however ideally excellent, could ever take the place of the original Qur'ān in Arabic Divine, and could never be expected to give an adequate, much less full, idea of this Last Revealed Scripture which might be described as "that inimitable symphon, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy."[1] The ardent, faithful soul is overwhelmed and filled with awe and reverence, with the mind and the heart deeply swayed, by the sublime and majestic power of the original Divine Revelation, the integrity of which is decidedly assured and guarded by the Almighty Lord Himself.[2] Being the Final Revelation of the One Supreme God, the Text af the Holy Qur'ān, unlike the older Revealed Books which suffered corruption, remains to this day, after the lapse of such a long period as fourteen hundred years, entirely intact, uncorrupted and unmutilated—the only unfailing practical guidance for all times, for the human races the world over.

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1 *Vide* Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall : Foreword to *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran.*
2 Referring to the Quran-verse 8, sec. 1, s. XX, P. XIV.

Thus bringing out wisely, from the lips of Satan, the horrors of their ill-advised straying activities, Iqbāl means to arouse the thoughtless slum-bring Muslims from their torpor and to warn them of the calamitous consequences of their attitude of destructive indifference and suicidal complacency.

Lāt-o-Manāt, occurring in the urdu original, here rendered by idols of worship, that is to say images fashioned by hand, were some of the chief idols worshipped by the pagan Arabs in pre-Islāmic times. These idols, along with yet an other one, called *Uzzā*, so favourite with the heathen Qureish of Mecca at the time of the Prophet's advent, represented different faminine deities. The idolators, the Arab pagans, pretended that their idols were daughters of Allāh, the unimaginable Supreme Being.

That the pagan Meccans were familiar with a number of gods is manifest from the Qur'ānic verse 23, sec. 2, *surah* lxxi, part XXIX, where five gods are mentioned by name. But we are to confine ourselves to those under immediate discussion. Al-Lāt, al-Manāt, and al-'Uzzā, all female deities, representing the Sun, Fortune, and the Planet Venus respectively. were regarded *as daughters of 'Altah,' by the Meccans.* The cult of al-Lāt was widespread, the name meaning 'the goddess.' She is mentioned by the pre-Islāmic poets, and was the great mother goddess who, under various names, was worshiped all over the ancient world, Tāif, a town near Mecca, was a centre of her worship. Al-Manāt was a goddess of a different type who controlled the individual's fortune, and was sometimes a household deity. For the Meccans al-Uzzā, 'the mighty one,' was the most important. There is ample evidence that she enjoyed popular worship from the fourth century A.D. onwards.

It is presumed that the idols worshipped as deities by the pagans of Mecca were brought into Arabia from the surrounding countries, or made from foreign models. Like all Prophets before him, the Last of the Prophet took steps to put an end to practices which were inconsistent with pure monotheism.

Unfortunately, exaggerated importance has been attached to these controversial theological propositions and they have been elevated to the status of the cardinal doctrines of the religion, and the question whether belief in one or the other of the so-called religious doctrines could bring spiritual salvatson to the Muslim community has at all times defied solution. *Iblīs* aptly styles all these theological controversies as idols sculptured with the chisel of discussions of religio-metaphysical problems indulged in by the Muslim learned men, theologians and rationalsts, throughout the history of the Muslim theological thought. These controversial theological propositions, thus idolised as the cardinal religous beliefs, must have displayed themselves to the masses of Muslims as carrying essential religious sanction behind them !

Apart from the Holy Prophet's Companions (the *Sahābah*) and their Followers (the*Tabi'īn*), the *Taba Tabi'īn*) (the Successors to the Followers of the Companions), *as-salaf as-sālihīn*, (the righteous ancestors), the great Imāms, and the sober '*Ulamā*,' of the Millat have always scrupulously avoided a treatment of such profound question of metaphysics and conscientiously eschewed all discussions of controversial problem of complex metaphysical character. It is evident that the esoteric problems of Divinity by virtue of their very nature, tend to be construed very differently and lend themselves to

confiicting and even misleading intespretations. The rationalistic theologians and the Neo-Platonists among Muslims, in the 4th century after the *Hijrah*, had ever been apt to draw far-fetched and fallacious conclusions from the Qraān-verses and even from the Apostolic Traditions, apparently of ameiguous important,

The responsible orthodox *'Ulamā,'* who have always been a source of greate strength to Islām, strongly condemned and vigorously resisted, even at the cost of life, such tendencies and attempts at wilful and misleading interpretations of simple Islāmic teachings on the part of the so-called enlightened rationalists (*mutakallimīn*) and advanced theologians, for their straying and cultural life of the *Ummat*. They were perfectly justifled in their stiff attitude, since these controversies have been largely responsible for the doctrinal deformation of Islam.

It must be mentioned that these controversial issues of the theological Divinity do not at any rate constitute the basic religious beliefs. They do not practically even have a legal (*Sharī*) justification, nor do they earry a theological sanction for their validity as such. And, they have hardly any bearing on Life and its exigencies. These are no more than a clever, but sinister, device wherewith to divert the Muslims' attention and their energies to disruptive and destructive activities, and thus blind them to the true spirit and purpose of Islām. The damage thus caused to the body-politic of Islām has been almost irreparable, and it is for the right thinking and well meaning Muslims to make a bid to retrieve the lost position. It is undisputably true that true Islām is to be found in the life of the earliest Muslims, and its real spirit and purpose to be discovered in those Muslims' attitude add behaviour alone.

The Holy Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him !) himself did not engage in vain metaphysics, and did not preach a metaphisical or mystical doctrine, nor a philosophy. In fact, he disdained all metaphysical speculations respecting the Nature of God and His Attributes, or of the origin and existence of Sin and Evil, and so on and so forth—topics which have exercised the ingenuity and mental powers of the rasionalists and the scholastic theologians for so many centuries. The Last of the Prophets raised mankind above all idol-worship, be it in any veiled form ; he preached a monothei.m which quickly scatterd to the winds the empty disputes of the wrangling Christian sects, the Catholics and Arians.

The Prophet's theology was simple, and so also was his Faith ; what he asserted is but the vital, everlasting truth. *It* is the pure, un-adulterated Unity of God, Mustafā's (peace be upon him) Apostlaship, as the last of human Messengers of God, the final Judgment on the Resurrection, and the practical regulatious for man's conduct, both domestic and social, in life and affairs—in short, a complete 'revealed' programme of human belief and conduct for the practical guidance of the entire humanity.

The Prophet did discourage and suppress the heretical tendencies, so likely to lead to widspread mischief and havoc. But the disputants have obstinately persisted in the tendency to adulterate the Faith with the spirit of paganism and to convert it into an idol-cult. The continue persisting, unrestrained and unchecked, in their practice of empty theological disputes and polemics, so vain and fatal. The pseudo-theologians and the other traffickers in religon would foign initiating people into the ticklish mysteries of theology, by thus indulging in

LXI. Our safety lies in that the *Believer* remains a slave till Doomsday
Renouncing this transitory[55] world for others' sake.

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futile disputations. They have utterly destroyed the prestige of the True Faith. In truth, these are all idle fables that have furnished contention, and therefore occupation to disputations sectarians and doctrinaires, and easy consolation to illiterate minds. The ignorant and superstitious masses of Muslims have been made to accept a mass of legends and absurd beliefs, and taught, to all intents and purposes, that on those doctrines or dogmas, th incomprehensible mysteries, the salvation or damnation of the community depends.

Doubtless, undue concentration on these matters has given Islam the dogmatic character it holds today. The position of Islam is thus reduced to that of Christianity—no longer a social and practical proposition, but a private affair with the idividual Believer.

55. This wrong notion, strongly anti-Islamic in origin and spirit, rather belief, that the world being mortal and transitory—nay of an ephemeral existence—is ment only for so-called unbelievers or Infields, while the Faithful themselves are to look forward to a kingdom in the Hereafter, has cost the Muslims their political freedom, economic independence and intellectual liberty. This attitude and belief of the Muslims has given the hellish Prince of Darkness and his party an occasion to establish the:r own Diabolical rule and to set up their own indecent and unjust Wor!d Order as Satan himself admits.

The teachings of Islam do not warrant such a reckless attitude towards the 'profane' world. There are *no* such elements in Islam as to justify thereby such a pessimistic and fatalistic view of the 'transient' earthly life. The causes of this decline, of the sad perversion of the Muslim's nature, are many, and it would be beyond the scope to investigate them here, and to expatiate on them must be an unpleasant task. The humiliation of the Muslims is a lamentation we have heard repeated *ad nauscam*.

In Islam spirit and matter are organic to each other. Islam does not preach a life of escape. It does not advocate flight from matter but rather aims at its conquest. The Holy Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him !) spake at the top of his voice :

لا رھبانیۃ فی الا اسلام

"There is no asceticism in Islam."
How true Iqbal is to the spirit of Islam whem he observes !

صید مومن این جہان آب و گل
باز را گوئی کہ صید خود بہل

"To the *Believer* the intire world of matter is prey :
To the *hawk* thou sayest, 'Relinquish your prey !"

Islam brought a new message, a promise to mankind that this world be gained This is the reason why Islam in its early centuries had such a splended rise. The foremost problem confronting every right-thinking Muslim today is what spiritual

6. *Pas Chik Bayad Kard. Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq.*

forces can be applied to revive the religious conscience of the Muslims. It is well known to an intelligent student of history that human psychology is a vital factor in moulding the life of individuals and nations ; it appreciably contributes both to their rise and fall. Centuries' long intellectual torpor, followed by their age-long political subjection, has neutralised the Muslims' jealousy for the frontiers of the Faith and for the genuine social concepts and religious ideals of Islām, and led them to hold as pristine the relgion they profess and practise today—the religion at which infidelity may justly mock. They must realize that life is incapable of creating an upheaval in its surroundings so long as there is no revolution in its inner depths ; and a new world cannot assume exterior hue unless its outlines are already in being in the human mind.

No revolution can take place, for all our wishful thinking, in our external physical environment unless and until we exert ourselves to bring about a revolution within our own selves. The history of the world's peoples, of their rise and fall, is a glowing evidence of the Qur'ānic truth :

ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم ط

"Behold, never doth God change the condition
of a people until they change their inner selves."

(al-Qur'an : part XIII, s. xiii, sec. 2, v. 11.)

This is a hard and immutable law, and there is no going away from it. History has only repeated itself in the case of Muslims, for they have ignored its lessons.

The Holy Qur'ān is absolutely clear in its attitude towards the 'transitory' world. It does not regard human life as a mere

empty shell with no real substance. On the other hand, with the *Qur'ān* life has a reality of its own and moral responsibility is attached to it. No doubt, life in the Hereafter would be of enduring character, unchained by limitations of Time and Space, but life on this earth is a necessary passing stage to that higher life and, therefore, its importance should in no way be made light of. Several verses from the Holy Qur'ān and many an authentic Tradition of the Holy Prophet could be cited to illustrate the absurdity of the attitude Muslims have adopted for the past several decades towards the 'mortal' world. Here, an attempt is made to impress on them the stern fact and to open their minds and eyes to the true teaching of Islam in this respect. As Muslims, we are called upon not to forget our due share of the material world :

و لا تنس نصیبک من الدنیا

"and forget not thy share of this world."

(al-Qur'an ; part XX, s. xxviii, sec. 8, v. 77)

What a sublime prayer is the Muslim taught in the verse !

ربنا آتنا فی الدنیا حسنة و فی الاخرة حسنة

"Our Lord ! Give us good in this world
and good in the Hereafter."

(al-Qur'an ; part II, s. ii,. sec. 25, v. 201)

Thus, it is established in the *Qur'ān* that its followers are to march forward to perfection by taking both the worlds, the 'transitory' world as well as the abiding next world, on their shoulders, and this life, a perfect one, embracing both spirit and matter is demanded of the Muslim, since he is the bearer of the perfect Religion—*al-Islām*.

Whereas the decadence of the present-day Muslims has

reached its deepest level and their humiliation is bottomless, to the good Muslims Islam does hold out a definite promise of happy state :

و لا تهنوا و لا تحزنوا وانتم الاعلون ان كنتم موء منين

"and lose not heart nor grieve, for ye shall be supreme, provided ye have faith."

(al-Qur'an ; part IV, s. iii, sec. 14, v. 139)

And, true to his interpretation of Islam, Iqbal awakens the modern Muslims to their noble status and exhorts them to a life of struggle—to the noble Life of power, glory and greatness as demanded of Muslims by Islam,

[7]مؤمنے با لائے ہر بالا ترے
غیرت او بر نتا بد ہمسرے

"The *Believer* is above every overlord :
His sense of self-respect does not tolerate
a rival."

Again, a Tradition of the Last Prophet says :

الدنيا مزرعة الاخرة

"The world is the tilth of the Hereafter."

It implies that man is to reap in the Hereafter what he has sown in this 'transitory' world. This famous Tradition of the Prophet bears a special significance, as it propounds a noble ethical principle. An average modern Muslim, suffering as he does from such intellectual and spiritual maladies as inferiority complex, defeatism and scepticism, adopts an apologetic attitude towards his religion. Not only this, he even goes

7. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*.

so far as to blame Islām for his shortcomings, and this has almost become a fashion of the day. What better share from Destiny could they possibly expect tomorrow in the Hereafter, when today most of the Muslims were found to be but politically slaves, economically serfs, culturally decadents and intellectually degenerates? Perhaps, they are oblivious of the fact that not only Paradise – to which the Muslims look forward so eagerly as their reward for the faith they never had and the deeds they never performed in this 'transitory' world—but also Hell exists in the Hereafter which must fall to the lot of the people who deserve it for their unbelief and wrongdoings in this world, as it is implied in the *Tradition*.

What a profound anguish does the restless soul of the great Eastern reformer pour out in this inspiring couplet !

دلم سوزد به بے سامانیٔ قومے که می گوئیند
به کافر این جهاں دادند و ما را عالمے دیگر

"My heart burns for the miserable unresourcefulness of the *people* who would say :

'To the infidel they have given this world and to us the other world.' "

LXII. What is exceedingly good in *his* case is that poetry and mysticism.[56]

Which should well conceal from *his* eyes the cosmic show of Life.

LXIII. Every moment do I dread the awakening of this *community* :

Whose *Religion*'s true nature, consists in

holding watch and reckoning overall the universe.

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56. The life-destroying poetic ideal, traditionally pursued by the Eastern poets, and the different schools of Ṣūfism and the various systems of Ṣūfī technique, founded and developed by the Persian Ṣūfis, which subsequently turned into sham practices at the hands of the later degenerate representatives and deliberately encouraged retreat from an active life as prescribed by the rigorous Islāmic Canonic Law, the *Sharī'ah*, have been largely responsible for the eventual culturo-political decay of the Muslim world and the general decadence of the Muslims. The popular lifeless poetry with its absurd raptures and the enervating Ṣūfism that hopelessly shirks the trials of human life have, in the long run, caused them to shut their eyes to the grim realities of Life around and completely obscured their vision of life's higher ideals and nobler objectives. Yet, despite the lamentable plight of the present-day Muslims and the sad misery of the contemporary world of Islām (when the so-called Muslim countries, which are no better than beggarly and dependent States, stand as a house divided against itself and Islām itself no longer serves as the vital binding force in the collective life of the widely scattered various Muslim communities inhabiting the earth), wide the socio-ideological disintegration and the politico-spiritual disruption of the world-wide Muslim community having been effected so thoroughly, the Arch-Devil is only afraid of the Muslims, being ever apprehensive lest their magic sleep of centuries should be broken any moment and they might awake to the realization of their ordained obligations and responsibilities. Once reawakened and roused from their age-long slumber and their mental stupor

shaken off, their deadened hearts revived and their stilled souls vitally reanimated (and that was just the situation Satan would shudderingly, even admittingly, dread, even though it were a remote prospect), the Muslims are bound to re-examine critically their own selves, to recultivate belief and reorientate behaviour, and consequently to start once again keeping a watchful eye on the course of the universe, supervise it and take account of it, determining its destiny and forcing it back to the course as willed and decreed by Almighty Creator—a task that represents the ultimate reality and true behest of the Muslim's Faith.

In order to avoid the creation of conditions, decidedly unfavourable to them, the Arch-Devil calls upon his Counsellors and his adherents to redouble their efforts to crush the crusading spirit of the true observant Muslims. *Iblīs* admonishes his lieutenants to spare no pains and no means to keep the Muslims wholly occupied in purely devotional and even intellectual pursuits. He tells them to strengthen the Muslims' ascetic tendencies by inducing them to give themselves up to extravagant religious exercises and austerities (*ryādat & mujāhidah*) and unrestrained spiritual contemplation and meditation (*murāqibah*). Monasticism, as exhorted by Persian Ṣūfism and implying self-mutilation, is one of the manifestations of Christian Asceticism (*rahbānyyat*), and is partly traceable to the influences of Hindu *Vedānta* (*vedānat*).

Ascetic Ṣūfism, a purely speculative side, gradually developed under influences of a non-Islāmic character, Christian as well as Hindu. The later Ṣūfism, definitely more Persian and non-Arabian than Islāmic, while absorbing the devotional and humanitarian spirit of Islām, borrowed, and finally absorbed, the monastic and contemplative elements of other religions—

Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. In no way does Monasticism, with its attending escapism, have to do with Islām, whose spirit displays itself in its vital activism and in its practical conquest and absorption of matter. Islām is the religion *par excellence*, in accordance with the Laws of Nature, combining both this worldly life and the other-worldliness into one harmonious whole. According to the Faith of Islām, it is not possible to attain real and lasting salvation (*najāh*) through a renunciation of the material world (*sanyāsa*) and the abandonment of worldly goods (*tayāg*), as taught by Hinduism or Buddhism.

Again, Islām lays down that ultimate supreme triumph (*falāh*) cannot be attained through an unrestrained practice of severe penance and excessive austerities (*tapassyyā*) and the immersion of the finite individuality of man into the Infinite (*nirvāna*), making the ultimate extinction of personality to be the greatest virtue, as held with Hindu and Buddhist philosophies to be the essential pre-requisites to a deliverance of the spirit (*muktī*). Jealous of the dignity of man, Islām rejects as something foreign, nay repugnant, to its bodypolitic the ideal consummation (*fanā*), accompanied by extra rigorous devotions (*mujāhidah*), of the *Ṣūfī*, who will see, and find, eternal bliss in the losing of the individual Self into the Absolute. Further, unlike the Christian ideal of society, the Social Order of Islām does not stand for an "other-worldly *Weltanschauung*" (world-philosophy). It strongly disapproves of self-mortification and self-annihilation, affecting both the body and the mind, as a means of soul's salvation, otherwise intensely approved of by Christianity.

For Iqbāl, the human individuality has a value and per-

manence of its own, and with him the highest ambition and bliss for man's finite individuality is not to be lost or immersed in the Infinite, which view is rejected outright by him. In the view of this thinker, assimilation, and not immersion, seems to be the end of all human thinking and feeling, and the purpose of man's all contemplation and exertion. Iqbāl is the leading existential poet of our times, and one of the basic elements of his constructive and versatile thought is his vital existentialism. He would seek to reconstruct and further create fresh values of Life through his favourite creed of Self and action. So, unceasing action is the keynote of the teachings of Islām, and constant activity is the quintessence of Iqbāl's message.

The extra-devotional and ultra-intellectual pursuits and practices tend to develop in the Muslims the fact-avoiding and life-denying attitude, ultimately leading to lifeless Idealism in one form or the other. The pernicious exhortation addressed to the Member of Satan's Advisory Council is ostensibly intended for the Muslims, who thus lost in those enervating pursuits should never be able to realise their original noble status, and should never feel the urge to strive for the promotion of the cause for which they were primarily created. To quote Iqbāl, "This spirit of total other-worldliness in later Ṣūfism obscured men's vision of a very important aspect of Islām as a social polity, and offering the prospect of unrestrained thought on its speculative side it attracted and finally absorbed the best minds in Islām."*

Thanks to the rise of ascetic Ṣūfism and the growth of monkish tendencies in Muslims, along with their cultivation of

Vide Reconstruction, Lecture VI.

LXIV. Keep *him* well absorbed in prayer and contemplation[57] in pre-morning hours :
Yea, make *him* grow stronger in his monastic disposition !

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idealistic poetry and their pursuit of unhealthy literary ideals, and because of the Muslims' eventual callous disregard of the sovereignty of the Law of Islām, with little urge and endeavour for the rule of Divine Law, the prestige and power of the Faith is destroyed. Here is a warning to the sensible who care to listen, ponder and act !

57. *Dhikr-o-fikr*, in the original, is a technical term in Ṣūfism. *Dhikr*, in the Ṣūfic sense, is the commemoration of God and the concentration of the mind upon Him. It consists, more than in anything else, in the reciting of the Qur'ān, any particular passage from it of mystical import. *Fikr*, ordinarily having a philosophical aspect and meaning, is here used in its mystical sense, along with its prefix. It is the ceremonial contemplation of the mystic on the glorious Attributes of God Almighty. Here, Iqbāl, in his characteristic ironical strain, alludes to the lifeless and senseless professional activities of the degenerate Ṣūfī, the unworthy mystic guide and spiritual director of a decadent people. Here is a message, a clarion call to action for those who understand !

یک جہاں بر ساحلِ من آرمید
از کران غیر از رمِ موجے مزید

—*Iqbāl*

"Aye ! A great many people on my shore have reclined :
The surging of a billow alone from the coast have they witnessed."

NOTE

After all that I have written on 'Allāma Dr. Muhammad Iqbāl, I have to admit that an exhaustive treatment of the poet's practical philosophy and the philosopher's constructive poetry, with the vital and inspiring message Iqbāl bears for the modern world, is a vast theme indeed, vast enough to fill many a bulky volume. Some of the important aspects of Iqbāl's poetry and a few of the essential features of his philosophy have been lucidly brought out by the learned writers in their illuminating contributions to this volume. These help the readers have an idea as to the significance of the message and teachings of the great reformer.

Here, I should like to say a few words about Urdū, for Iqbāl's great poem appears in that language. Iqbāl is equally conversant with Urdū and Persian; his earliest work is in Urdū, and his last book contains poems in both the languages. Much of his maturer work, however, is in Persian, and has attracted the notice of great scholars in Europe and the Middle East. Urdū is a new language, native to India. It derives from Persian and Hindi, and from the many dialects of the sub-continent. It is not unlike modern English in this respect. It is a language peculiarly elastic and adaptable. Having a large number of Persian words and expressions, Urdū is both sweet and richly exprressive. Its verse literature is rich indeed. Iqbāl used this medium, and found it capable of conveying his song and his message to the world.

NOTE

The poem in the original bears testimony to Iqbāl's genius, and to the genius of the nascent language — Urdū. The Translation does not pretend to have the beauty of phrase and power of music that the original poem possesses. It is only a humble attempt at introducing Iqbāl to those who do not know Urdū and its treasures. It is but a modest effeort to persuade readers in the West in particular to be more curious about Iqbāl and his poetry, especially his poetry in Urdū.

It is gratifying to note that the revision has occasioned numerous basic alterations in the book, and necessitated vital amendments in the expanded work. Consequently, there are introduced a number of fresh features, which greet the learned reader's eyes in the present augmented Edition. The Appendices, it will be noticed, have thus been made quite comprehensive and brought up to date in form, in consequence of the three additional items' which embrace the Abbreviations, the Glossary, and the Bibliography. The formal numbering of the couplets thus translated, of which the original poem in Urdū is completed, would be found of use as indicating the numerical side.

Above all, the Translation of the poem has been critically revised and appreciably improved upon for the Edition. It is now hoped that the English Version of the Urdū poem and also the exhaustive relevant Comments just following the Translations, which the reader has gone in the foregoing, would factually be found to be better reflecting the spirit of the original. All this, it is earnestly to be hoped, will be of interest and benefit to those interested in the painstaking researches of the kind.

It is with profound feelings of grief that I have to make here a sad note of obituary. Shaikh Moosā Jārullāh's sad demise was a personal loss to the present writer, who had enjoyed close intellectual associations with the Russian Muslim divine. The death of the eminent Muslim Arabist and historian, the late Maulānā Sayed Sulaimān Nadvī, like that of the great Tātār scholar, the reputed master of Islāmology, and the passing away of M. Suhā Mujaddadī, the noted Indian literary critic and poet, have left voids in Islāmic religious literature and in Urdū language not likely to be filled for a long time to come. Their valuable Opinions perpetuate the memories connected with a past new sinking into Eternity.

I am greatly indebted to 'Allāma Shaikh Moosā Jārullāh of Russia, international authority on Islāmics and author of numerous works on Islām, who showed profound personal interest in this literary enterprise and highly appreciated it. He liberally helped me in elucidating some of the Islāmic problems discussed therein. The Shaikh's observations in Arabic throw light on the personality of the peculiar characteristics of Iqbāl's poetry and his message.

I render due thanks to the writers, who showed their sympathy for my work and were good enough to go through the manuscript. They gave their valuable opinions on this work, and their names are specified in the Acknowledgment, thus appended to the book. A relevant extract from the Review that appeared in the leading English Daily of Pakistan, *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, is included in the opinions, as the 'Press Opinion' appearing finally in the last Section of the book.

Now, I must thank Khawajāh Ziā' Ullah Nāik, B.A ,

LL.B., J.D., who has consistently evinced genuine interest in my endeavours, patiently sustained me in my labours, and liberally encouraged me in this arduous undertaking. Well cultured and with a refined taste, this agreeable-disposed and accomplished friend has helped me greatly in the critical final revision and checking of the manuscript. Mr. Nāik has been so kind as to offer some very helpful and practical suggestions for vital general improvement therein, which have been duly adopted by me.

While concluding this Note, the writer wishes to express his satisfaction that no pains have been spared on the part of the Publishers to bring out the book in a fitting garb, worthy of its contents—which is a votive dedication to the memory and work of the great Oriental poet-prophet. This work, considerably amended and enlarged, is now presented to the appreciative readers and the indulgent public, and the writer may fervently hope that the book would be commending itself to their approval. The modest work is offered to the interested learned scholars and Orientalists, as also to the erudite Muslim savants, both in the East and the West, in the earnest hope that it would be receiving right appreciation and recognition from the cultured people.

The Abbreviations used in this book, that is, in the Introduction and the Comments, are given hereunder :—

A D., *anno Domini*—In the year of the Lord.

A.H., *anno Hegirae*—In the year of *Hijrah*.

Ar.—Arabic.

B.C.—Before Christ.

b.—Born.

ch.—Chapter.

C.—Christian, Era.

c., circa—About.

cir., circiter—About.

d.—Dead or Died.

Dr.—Doctor.

e.g., exempli gratia—For example.

H.—*Hijri* Era.

i.e., id est—That is.

ob , obiit—Died. No., *numero*—Number.

p.—Page.

P.—Part.

pl.—Plural.

para.—Paragraph.

Prof.—Professor.

Russ.—Russian.

St.—Saint.

Sans.—Sanskrit.

sec.—Section.

sing.—Singular.

s.,—Surah.

U.S.S.R.—Union of Socialist Soviet Republic.

v.—Verse.

v.—vide—See.

viz., videlicet—namely.

vol.—Volume,

&., *et*—And.

GLOSSARY

The following are the various words, terms and phrases, from different classical and modern foreign languages, as occurring in the book, arranged alphabetically and language-wise :—

ARABIC :

'Abdehi. His (Allah's) Slave. The Holy Prophet, as the highest type of God's Servant. "The Slave of Allāh" is the proudest title of the Prophet, well-justified by the enthusiasm of obedience he became filled with because of the exalted Apostolic Mission.

'Ajami. Non-Arab and non-Islamic. A nickname given by the Arabs to all non-Arabs whom they regarded as dumb in comparison with their eloquence. *'Ajam* is the non-Arab world, especially Persia, and '*Ajamiyyat*' from it, is the non-Islamic conception and ideals, in religion, science, philosophy, art, or literature.

Al-Burraq. The heavenly steed. A winged beast, which carried the Prophet to Jerusalem and thence to the higest Heavens.

Allāh. The one Unimaginable Supreme Being—'the One worthy to be adored' it is the Quranic Arabic alone that has the only Personal, "Proper Name" Allāh for the One God, the Lord Almighty, the Supreme Lord of the Worlds, the Great Creator of All.

Ana'l haqq. 'I am the creative truth!' The famous utterance of the Persian Mystic Mansur al-Hallāj. The significant ecstatic outburst uttered by him while drowned in his peculiar unrestrained rapturous mood. For his audacious claim Al-Hallāj was publicly executed in Abbaside Baghdad, meeting with his death on the gallows, A.D. 922.

'amal as-saleh. Righteous deed, in consonance with the spirit of Islamic teaching.

Arkan. Tenets. The five cardinal principles of the socio-religious structure of Islām. (The singular form is *rukn*, a tenet, or a pillar.)

'Arsh. Empyrean. The Highest, Sublime Heaven, where lies the Throne of God the Most High.

'Asa.' 'Rod.' An important Miracle granted to the Prophet Moses. A symbol of glorious Power.

Ash-Shu'ara'. The Poets. Title of one of the Chapters of the Holy Quran. (From the Plural Shu'ara' Poets, the singular form is *Shā'ir*, a poet.)

Asma' as-Sifat. The glorious Attributive Names of the one Supreme God, as mentioned in the Last Divine Word—*al-Qurān*. The excellent Attributes, or names (*asma' al-husna*) of the Lord Almighty, graceful as well as terrific (*jamali* and *jalali*.)

Asrar. Profound mysteries. (The singular form is *sirr*, a mystery.)

As-Salaf as-Salehin. The righteous ancestors.

As-Salāt. The obligatory, ceremonial Muslim Service, offered congregationally or individually, at scheduled hours five times a day. It is one of the five main pillars of the edifice of Islām.

At-taṣawwuf. Islāmic Mysticism. Ṣūfism.

Ayah. A sign, a miracle. A verse of the Holy Qur'an. (*Ayat* is the plural form.)

Azal. Pre-beginning, when Time had not yet had its dawn.

Adhān. The Cry. The ceremonial Muslim Call to Prayer, announced at the scheduled hours, five times a day.

Bait-ullah. House of God. The Holy *Ka'bah*, in the Sacred City of Mecca. The holiest Shrine of Islam, it is especially dedicated to Divine Service, attracting the devout Muslim pilgrims from all the world over.

Bunyanum marsus. "A solid cemented struture." A fragmentary Quranic verse, embodying a simile, representing the Muslims as one indivisible compact body,

Burq. Electricity : lightning.

Dajjal. Antichrist. In the Muslim context, he embodies Sin and Unbelief. A great Enemy of the Faith, expected by the orthodox to appear before the Final Day.

Dhikr-o-Fikr. Litanies. Concentrated commemoration of God and concerted contemplation on Him, in Ṣūfism. *Fikr* is also speculative thinking, in philosophy—philosophising.

Din-e-Haq. True Faith. Islām.

Diwan. A poet's collected poems. Also a council of State or a council-chamber.

Fakanat basharyyatahu baqyyatun. "So, his (the Prophet's) human characteristics still persisted," a quotation from Imam ar-Razi.

Falāh. Success, or triumph, in the world and the Hereafter, as held in Islam.

Fana'. Ideal consummation of the *Ṣufi*, the cherished ambition of the mystic. Losing of man's finite individuality in the Infinite or the Absolute, in Sufism.

Fuqaha'. Jurists. Muslim Doctors of Law, making a specialised study of the Law and expounding it. (*Faqih* is the singular form).

Ghair makhluq. Uncreated.

Hadith. 'New.'

Hadith. A Tradition. A technical term for a report of the saying or doing of the Prophet. (The plural form is *Ahadith.*)

Hajj. Islamic Pilgrimage to Mecca. One of the cardinal tenets of the Faith.

Hakīm-e-Hayat. Philosopher of Life. Apt title enjoyed by Iqbal for his realistic perception and vital interpretation of Life.

Haram. Sanctuary. The Holy *Ka'bah* at Mecca.

Hidayah. Practical guidance. Also the name of a standard work on Islāmic Jurisprudence.

Hijjat al--wida'. The 'Farewell Pilgrimage' of the Holy Prophet. Shortly after, the Prophet departed from this world.

Hijrah. The Prophet's Migration to Yathrib (al-Madinah) from Mecca. The Muslim Era is dated from this year, A.D. 622, 13th September.

Hikmah. Sound wisdom. Practical, genuine philosophy.

Hilal. The Crescent. New moon, the symbol of Islām.

Hujjaj. Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. (The singular form is *al-Haj*, or *Haji*.)

Hukumat-e-Ilahyyah. Kingdom of God. The true pattern of Islāmic Theocratic State.

Iblīs. Satan, the Arch-Traitor. Enemy of Men, the Tempter.

Ibn. Son of Also *bin*.

Ihsan. 'Sincerity in action,' in the technical sense of the Tradition. Widely, moral obligation or a kindly favour done but gratis, in the human way, or done primaily for God's Approbation, by a fellow to a fellow-being.

'Ilm. True science. Factual knowledge. (*'Ulum*, science or studies, in the plural.)

'Ilm-i-Kalam. Literally, science of speech. or dialectics. A method of philosophy. Theological philosophy developed by Muslim religious thinkers under Greek influences.

Imam. Widely, leader ; then the leader of congregational

prayer in the mosque ; the spiritual head of the Muslims. (*Aimmah*, spiritual leaders, in the plural.)

Iman. Religious faith. Belief in vital truths of Islām, born of burning and unflinching conviction.

Insan al-Kamil. 'Perfect Man.' A mystic conception of the Ideal Man.

'Ishq. Love. Divine Love. In the wide sense the power of assimilative action.

Isnad. The chain of transmitters of the Apostolic Tradition.

Isra'. The Prophet's miraculous preparatory Night Journey to Jerusalem. starting from the Sacred Mosque at Mecca. The transitive past tense from it is *asra*, meaning, "He caused to journey by night', and the imperative mood being *isre*, which means 'do journey by night.' Another variant is *sara*, in the intransitive past, meaning 'He journeyed.' All these variations have been used in the singular, invariably followed by the appropriate preposition, the particle *bi*, *i.e.*, with or along with.

Jāhillyyah. Utter Ignorance, of pre-Islāmic times. Strictly, the period before the advent of the Holy Prophet of Islām, marked by universal Darkness and wide-spread Ignorance. Widely, hazy state of spirit and intellect yet unillumined by the Light of the True Religion of Islām.

Jadhb. A Sufic term for a peculiar mental state characterised by excessive inner assimilation.

Jihad. Islamic injunction of fighting in the Lord's Cause. Muslim Holy War.

Ka'bah. Muslim Holy of Holies. Cubic-like building in the centre of the great Mosque at Mecca.

Kalam-e-Lafzi. Worded speech.

Kalam-e-Nafsi. Spirit of speech.

Kalīm. Speaker. Contraction of *Kalīm Allāh* (that is Interlocutor of God), *i.e.*, the One with whom the Lord Speaketh, epithet of the Hebrew Prophet, Moses.

Khilafat ar-Rashidah. Rightly-guided Caliphate of the first four Caliphs, called *Khulafa' ar-Rashdin*, the Successors of the Prophet and thus the heads of all Muslims. 'Ūmar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, of the Dynasty of Banu Umayyah, is regarded as the fifth of these Caliphs.

Laiylun. Night. At or by night.

Lassān al-Ghaib. Expounder of Sacred Mysteries. Name given by Ṣūfis to the Persian mystic poet Hāfiz.

Mahdi. The 'guided one.' A popular belief in the coming of a Redeemer.

Majnun. An insane person.

Majdhub. A self-absorbed man, all lost, inclined to insanity.

Makhluq. Created. Creatures.

Manasik. Essential rituals in the performance of the Islamic Pilgrimage. (*Mansak* is the singular form.)

Ma'rifat. *Gnosis* A Sūfic term, meaning mystic knowledge of God which is deep and intimate. Another word bearing almost the same sense is *'irfān*.

Maulvi. Muslim theologian or divine.

Millat. Muslim Community. Originally, religion.

Mi'raj. The Holy Prophet's phenomenal Ascension to the Heavens.

Mo'min. A convinced Believer, professing living faith in Islām.

Mu'adhdhin. The crier. Official attached to a mosque, whose duty it is to announce the call to Prayer, at scheduled hours.

Muhaddithīn Traditionists. Body of Muslim savants devoted to the intensive study of the science of *Hadith* and the minute scrutiny of the Apostolic Traditions. (*Muhaddith*, in the singular form.)

Mujaddid. Renovator. One who brings about the revival of pure Islām (plural, *Mujaddidin*).

Muraqibah. Literally, a lowering of the neck (in profound meditation). In Sufism, peculiar attitude of constant and intensive contemplation of the *Ṣufi*, ridding him of physical influences and bringing him undisturbed mental and spiritual concentration.

Murshid. Spiritual director. Master of a disciple, *murīd*, or a devotee.

Mustafā. The Chosen One. The best known of the titles of the Holy Prophet of Islām, chosen as the Last of

the Lord's human Messengers unto mankind—the Prophet for the entire humanity for all times.

Mutakallimin. Scholastic theologians of the Abbasside days, who evolved a peculiar system of theological philosophy (singular, *Mutakallim*).

Najah. Salvation, according to Islamic teaching.

Qadim. 'Old.'

Qawwali. Droning psalm, religious singing. Symposium formed of a special singing feature, in which odes and poems are sung in praise of Divine Beauty, charged with a mystical atmosphere.

Qiblah. The central point, in the direction of Mecca, common to the Muslims alone which they face in their Prayers.

Quddus. The One Sanctified. An Attributive Name of Allah.

Rahbanayyat. Asceticism. (*Rahib*, an ascetic, is the agent from it.)

Ryādat & mujāhidah. Extravagant devotions and austerities, as practised by the *Ṣūfis* with a view to ensuring rapid and thorough spiritual purification, expansion and illumination.

Rubab. A Rebeck. A musical instrument of three strings played with a bow, of the violin kind, introduced by the Moors into Muslim Spain.

Sahabah. Companions. Widely interpreting, everyone who saw and accompanied the Prophet. The other form in the plural is *Ashab* (*Sahib*, in the singular). In

reference to a Companion of the Prophet, the usual singular form, as from the plural *Ṣahābah*, is *Ṣahābi*, the Companion, As for the other plural form, *viz*. *Aṣḥāb*, the term is used both for the Companions of the Prophet and for persons other than the Companions, such as comrades, friends and others. Its singular, that is, *Ṣāhib*, is however, never employed to refer to a Companion of the Prophet, and it always stands to connote a comrade, a friend, a ruler, or a husband.

Ṣaḥiḥ. Authentic, genuine.

Sannajat-ul-Arab. Cymbol of Arabia. Popular name given to the eloquent pre-Islamic Arab poet, A'asha.

Salam. Formal greeting, after the Muslim fashion, invoking peace on a fellow-brother.

Shaikh al-Akbar. Grand Old Man. Especially used in connection with the mystic saint Ibn al-'Arabi, taken to be the Supreme Mystic Guide.

Shar'i. Legal, corresponding to the Islamic Canonic Law.

Shari'ah. Literally, 'the Path.' The supreme, all-embracing Canonic Law of Islām, as applied in the days of early right-guided Caliphs. It consists of the precepts of the Qur'an and of the Traditions of the Way of behaviour of the Prophet.

Sidrat al-muntaha. "The lote-tree of the utmost boundary." Fragment of the Qur'anic verse, alluding to the Prophet't Ascension.

Su'āl. Asking. Putting a question, or begging. *Sā'il*, deprived from it as the agent, is one who asks, the questioner or a beggar.

Subhan. The One Hymned and Glorified. An Attributive Name of Allah.

Ṣufi. Muslim mystic, especially Persian, interpreting Islamic teachings in his own mystical light. (*Sufia'*, in the plural.)

Sunnah. A custom or practice. The Prophet's exemplary way of interpreting and living Islam.

Surah. A step. A chapter of the Qur'an.

Taba' Tabi'in. Successors to the Followers of the Prophet's Companions.

Tabi'īn. The Companions' Followers. *Tabi'*, in the singular.

Takbir. The cry "Allah is Most Great."

Taqdis. Sanctifying and glorifying the Lord.

Taqwa. Fear of God, akin to Love of God. This is but one aspect of its manifold meaning.

Tariqat. Mystic Path. Path, as something different from *Shari'at*, chosen and followed by Muslim mystics.

Tarjaman-e-Asrar. Interpreter of Spiritual Mysteries. A name by which Hafiz the Mystic is known to the *Ṣufis*.

Tarjuman-e-Haqiqat. Interpreter of Reality. Name given to Iqbal by his admirers.

Tasbih. Celebrating the Lord's praise.

Tawaf. Going in a circular movement around the object of devotion. It is one of the most essential points in the Islamic Pilgrimage to Mecca, which makes it obligatory for the pilgrims to walk arround the Holy

Ka'bah a specific number of times.

Ta'wiz. Centrally elevated grave-slabs over a Muslim's tomb. It also signifies an object used to exert some protective influence over the person using it—an amulet.

'Ulama'. Body of Muslim professional theologians and doctors of divinity, and therefore of the Islamic Law. The term is the plural of 'alim, learned.

Ummat. Community, i.e., the Muslim Community.

Wahdat al-wajud. Literally, Unity of Existence. Theory of Persian pantheistic mysticism, regarded as the basic principle of Sūfism.

Yad-e-baidā.' 'White hand.' Another important miracle bestowed on Prophet Moses, a symbol of Divine glory dazzling to the beholders.

Zahir and batin. Literally, Appearance and Reality. Broadly, two seemingly different sides or aspects of the same thing, the one being that which is apparent and the other, which is hidden from the casual eye, is real. In the Sufi context the mystic's tendency to view things in their ultimate, spiritual meaning, ignoring their obvious, material purport, especially in matters religious having a legal or statutory import.

Zakāh. Literally, purging or purifying. Hence, purging of wealth. The chief varient is *tazkiah*, which is purifying of one's inner self. Strictly, and legally the obligatory sacred poor-tax. One of the principal tenets of Islām.

Zuhd. Renunciation of earthly goods, as practised by ascetic Muslim mystics. The agent from it is *Zāhid*, a devoted ascetic.

PERSIAN :

Bekhudi. Selflessness. The mystic's doctrine of Self-abandonment involving extinction of human personality. It is opposed to Iqbal's doctrine of the Self, his theory of the Ego, or *Khudi.*

Daftar. Book, volume. Office, in Urdu (Plural, *dafatir*, offices or departments).

Dīwanah. A madman. Strictly, a lunatic (the Urdu equivalent being *Pagal*, one mentally deranged).

Faghfoor. Ruling Prince, sovereign. Title of medieval rulers of China.

Farzanah. A wise man. A philosopher.

Hamah oost. Literally, 'All is He. The widespread Sufic pantheistic creed of Persian and Indian mystics. This is the Persian version of the original, *wahdat al-wajud*, in Arabic.

Jahan-i-Ab-o-Gil. World of earth and water, *i.e.*, elements. World of matter.

Jahan-i-Rang-o-Bu. World of Scent and Hue, *i.e.*, the world of matter.

Jahan-i-Soz-o-Saz. World of beauty and endeavour. World of spirit.

Khudī. The Ego, or Self. Iqbāl's theory of the Ego, stressing Self-affirmation and Self-development, as

opposed to the Ṣūfī's doctrine of Self abnegation and Self- abandonment, or *bekhudi.*

Koh-i-Noor. Literally, Mount of Light. Famous Indian diamond, with a long diverse and chequered history.

Mard-i-Khuda. 'Man of God.' Mystic's concept of the Ideal Man.

Pir. Old man. A holy person, a saint. A spiritual guide.

Pir-e-Rumi. 'Sage of Rumi' referring to the mystic poet Rumi.

Shahinshah. King of King : emperor. Monarch of Persia.

Soz-o-Saz. Endeavour and beauty, terms in Sufism.

TURKISH :

Auropalashmaq. Europeanise.

Islāmlashmaq. Islamise.

Khāqān. King, emperor. Equivalent of *Khān* (also Turkish or Tatar) *i.e.*, Chief of Lord. Emperor of China, and ruler of Tartary in Middle Ages.

SANSKRIT :

Advaita. Hindu belief, according to the Vedic teaching, that God and the Universe are identical, and that all things thus proceeding from God ultimately return to merge in the Supreme Creator (Brahma) and to become one with Him.

Avatara. Literally, a down-passing. Incarnation of God. Descent of a Hindu deity to earth in incarnate form.

Dharma Shastra. Any code of Hindu civil and religious law, the most famous being that of Manu, the ancient Hindu law giver.

Maya. Illusion. Hindu doctrine that all existence excepting God is only illusory.

Mukti. Spiritual salvation, Deliverance of the human soul, according to Hindu belief.

Nirvana. Literally, a blowing out. In Buddhist philosophy, extinction of personality as the highest good. Cessation of individual existence —the state to which a Buddhist, as also a Hindu, aspires as the best attainable.

Sanyasa. Hindu asceticism. Renunciation of the world and its goods.

Tapassyya. Practice of severe penance and excessive austerities, after the Hindu fashion, aimed at achieving quick spiritual perfection.

Tayag. Renunciation, of the material world. Parting with worldly goods—the higher ideal aspired to by the Hindu ascetic or recluse, or hermit (*Sanyasi* or *Sadhu*, or *Yogi*) and the Buddhist monk *Bhikshu*)

Vedanta. System of Hindu philosophy based on the Vedas.

HEBREW :

Jehovah (*Yahowah*). The Eternal Being. Chief Hebrew name of God.

Mann. Manna. Food supplied to the Israelites in the wilderness of Arabia.

Messiah (*Mashiah*). The Anointed One, Jesus Christ. Promised deliverer of the Jews.

GREEK :

Decalogue (*deka logoi*—ten words). Ten Commandments, constituting the Mosaic Law.

Exodus. Departure of the Israelites from Egypt led by Prophet Moses. Second of the Old Testament. relating that departure.

Gnostic (*Gnostikos*). Having mystic spiritual knowledge. *Gnosis* is the deep, mystic knowledge of God.

Hierophant. Expounder of Sacred Mysteries.

Logos. Word, *i e*., Word of God incarnate. Active principle living in and determining the world.

LATIN :

Ad nauseam. To a disgusting extent. *Ante*. Before.

Corpus. Body of writings.

Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judacorum. "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews." Jesus Christ, son of the Virgin Mary, the last of the Prophets unto the Israelites.

Imperator. Emperor. Title first assumed by Julius Caesar.

Magnum opus. Great literary work.

Sanctum Sanctorum. Holy of Holies.

Sine qua non. An indispensable condition : pre-requisite.

Triumvirate. A triad A union of three men, especially, in Roman history, that of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar (60 B.C.), and that of Octavian (Augustus), Mark Antony, and Lepidus (43 B.C.).

Versus. Against.

Via media. A middle course.

Vide. See (in reference to passage in book).

FRENCH :

Bouquet. Nosegay : bunch of flowers.

Elan Vital. Life-impulse.

En masse. In a body. *Juste milieu*. The just mean. The happy medium.

Litterateur. Literary man.

Motif. Theme in artistic composition.

Par excellence. Eminently, by way of ideal.

Raison d'etre. Reason for existence.

Resume. A summary or abstract.

Vis-a-vis. Facing one another.

GERMAN :

Der Fukrer. The Leader, Guide. The title taken by Herr Adolf Hitler as Dictator of Nazi, Hitlerite Germany. Herr Hitler was popularly called *Der Fukrer* by the Nazis, members of the ruling German National Socialist Party, predominant until the downfall of Germany and her capitulation in the Second World War, in May, 1945.

Der grosse Heide. The great Heathen (Heine's name for Goethe).

Deutschland. Germany.

Herrenvolk. Superior people. Master race, fitted and entitled by their superior qualities to rule the world.

Kultur. Culture. German conception of civilization.

Lebensraum. Living space. Space inhabited by living things. Room to live and expand, if necessary. Territory which a State believes is needed for its natural development.

Philosoph des Leben. Philosopher of Life. Iqbāl's appreciative reference (in German version) to Goethe, for his deep insight into human life and his realistic interpretation of Life and its vital realitics.

Sturm und Drang. Storm and stress. (A play characteristic of the German literary movement 1770-82.) The phrase signifies period of unrest in person's or nation's life.

Vaterland. Father-land. German cult of patriotism claiming the individual's exclusive attachment and loyalty to the native country.

Übermensch. 'Superman.'

Weltanschauung. Outlook upon the world. World-Philosophy.

Weltbuerger. World-citizen.

Weltherrschaft. World domination.

Weltmacht. World power.

ITALIAN :

Il Duce. The Chief, Leader (Sg. Mussolini as Leader of the *Fascisti*). The title assumed by Signor Benito Mussolini as Dictator of Fascist Italy.

Inferno. Hell. (espt with reference to Dante's *Divina-Commedia*—title of one of the sections of the poem.)

Paradiso. Paradise.

Purgatorio. Purgatory.

Violine-Viola. Violin. A four-stringed modern musical instrument, of medieval Italian origin, played by means of a bow.

RUSSIAN :

Bolsheviki. Majority. Members of the Russian revolutionary Socialist party : Russian Communists (Lenin's followers). Opposed to them were the *Mensheviki*, minority, who lost all power with Lenin's rise to power.

Soviet (*Sovet*). A council, especially one of those forming since 1917, the machinery of revolutionary government in Russia. The term also stands for the modern Communist Russia, called the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (abbreviated to U.S.S.R.).

Tsari. Czar. Emperor of Russia (before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917).

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Given below are the names of the gentlemen whose valued Opinions review the book :

'Allama Shaikh Moosa Jārullāh, renowned Muslim Russian Turk scholar, author and traveller.

Maulānā Dr. Sayed Sulaiman Nadvi, D. Litt., distinguished Muslim Arabist and historian, formerly Director, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh (U.P.—India).

Mr. Suhā Mujaddadī, noted Urdu poet and critic, Bhopal (India.)

Professor Louis Massignon, prominent French orientalist scholar and writer, formerly of the University of Paris (France).

Professor Muhammad Sa'eed Khān, M.A., sometime Vice-Principal, Islamia College, Lyallpur (Pakistan).

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امیر الشعراء الاسلام فی عصوره الدکتور محمد اقبال

کنت اعرفه من قدیم الزمن - کان یصل الی قصائده الفارسیه و داری، عاصمة الدولة الروسیة پترسبورغ - و جئت الی الهند مرات و کنت اروره کل مرة و اصاحبه فی الخلوة نذاکر مسائل فی احوال عالم الاسلام - فعرفته عینا و عرفنی - ثم استیقن انی افهم ما یقول و افهم ما اقول - فکان ینبسط فی الکلام البساطا بنشاط و باریحیه و کان اذا تدارکت کلامه بکلمة منی یفرح فرح عالم یحترم العلم و یستمع القول و یتبع احسنه - فعرفته حق المعرفه و علمت افکاره و جلیل آماله و واسع آرائه واطلعت علی اسراره وسرائر قلبه فوجدته مؤمنا کامل الا یمان ، مسلما صادق الا سلام ، مخلصا فی دینه و فی ادبه ، حنیفاً فی نسکه ، محیاه و مماته لله - لم یتوسخ ادبه بلوث ریاً - ووجدته یعلم تعالیم القرآن العظیم و تعالیم نبیه الکریم حق العلم ، و قد حاز اوفر حظ من خزائن شعراء الاسلام فی اللغته الفارسیه - والامته الاسلامیه ببرکته نبیهاالامی اکثر الامم علی وجه الارض کتابته و احکم الامم شعراً و حکمه - لم یظهر علی وجه الارض فی تاریخ البشرامه فی کثرة الکتابه و فی علو شعر ها مثل الامته الاسلامیه ببرکته نبیهاالامی و کان امیا لا یکتب و کان شارعاً حکیما - قدره و عقله ارفع من ان یکون شاعراً و نخن نعتقد ان الله جل جلاله تدارک فضله العظیم علی نبیه الکریم بان رزق لامته الکریمه فضلاً لم یکن لا حد من قبل -

و شاعر الاسلام محمد اقبال بین شعراء الاسلام تفرد بفضل لم یکن لشاعر من قبل : بان احاط بادب الغرب و بفلسفته الغرب فی اللغته الالمانیه والانکلیزیه فجعل الله قلبه مجمع البحرین او مجمع البحار - ففاق شعراً عصره بل فاق شعراء الاسلام فی عصوره بفضیلة الاحاطه و لا تنکران اکابر

شعراء لغرب كانوا يستقون من شعراء الاسلام فى اللغة الفارسيه قبل شاعرنا اقبال صاحب - و شاعرنا العظيم قد رفع قدر شعره فترفع من ان يقول بيتاً او قصيدة فى تخيلاته الشعريه - و انما كان يقول بيتاً و ينشئ قصائد فى المسائل الحيوية الاجتما عيته يعارض افكار كبار فلاسفة الغرب معارضة هادية و ينفخ روح الحياة لا هل الشرق -

انى قرأت كل قصائده الفارسيه و كنت افهم و كنت اقرأء قصائده فى اللغة الهنديه والاغلب انى ما كنت افهم حق الفهم بلاغة الهنديه -

فاشكر اخانا الاديب الشاب الكريم محمد اشرف صاحب فقد اسمعنى فى مجالس عديدة كتابه الانكليزى فى شاعر الاسلام محمد اقبال كان يترجمه الى لغته افهمها و بفضل ادبه و عمله كان يشرح فلسفته شاعرنا شرحا يسرنى عظيم السرور حتى كنت اتعجب من تسعته علم اخينا الشاب الاديب فكنت اتوسمّ له الخير الكثير فى مستقبله -

موسى جارالله

ڈاکٹر اقبال مرحوم کی وہ نظم جس کا عنوان ''ابلیس کی مجلس شوریٰ'' ہے در حقیقت اس زمانہ کے عقائد و خیالات اور سیاست و معاشرت پر ایک حکیمانہ تبصرہ ہے - ان عقائد و خیالات اور سیاست و معاشرت کی زنجیروں میں آج ساری دنیا جکڑی ہوئی ہے - مشرق و مغرب ، مسلم و نامسلم ، حاکم و محکوم سب ہی اس کی قید میں گرفتار اور اس کے جادو سے مسحور ہیں - ضرورت تھی کہ اس نظم کو کسی ایسی زبان میں منتقل کیا جائے - جس کو زیادہ سے زیادہ مخلوق سمجھ سکے - اردو کی چہار دیواری اس کے افادہ کے لیے کافی نہیں - اس لیے جناب ملک محمد اشرف صاحب سب کے شکریہ کے مستحق ہیں کہ انھوں نے اس نظم کو اردو کے حدود محدود سے نکال کر انگریزی کی عمومی وسعت اس کو عطا کی اور اس طرح شاعر مرحوم کے خیالات و عقائد کو دنیا کے ایک بڑے حصہ کے لیے قابل استفادہ بنا دیا - مترجم نے

صرف ترجمہ ہی کا حق ادا نہیں کیا ۔ بلکہ اس کے اشاروں اور کنایوں کی تصریح اور اجمال کی تشریح کرکے شاعر کے خیالات کی پوری شرح کردی ہے ۔

حق تعالی سے دعا ہے کہ وہ اس نظم سے سارے بندگانِ خدا کو فائدہ پہنچائے ، تاکہ انسانیت اس راہ کی غلطی کو سمجھے جدھر یورپ کی اندھی تقلید اس کو ہنکائے لیے جارہی ہے ۔

سید سلیمان ندوی

علامہ اقبال رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کا کلام جو اسلامی نظریات کے تحت تمام بنی نوع انسان کی فلاح و ارتقاء کے نظام پر مشتمل ہے ، جس قدر توسیع کے ساتھ شائع کیا جائے ، اسی قدر ممالک واقوام کی اصلاح کا باعث ہوگا ۔ اس کے ساتھ ہی مفید و ضروری اجزائے نظم کی جتنی زیادہ تفسیریں اور تراجم ہوں گے ، اسی تنوع کی نسبت سے زیادہ سے زیادہ جماعتیں مستفید ہوسکیں گی ۔ اور یہ افادات انسانی زندگی ، ذہنیت اور سیرت کے متعدد پہلوؤں کو شاداب کریں گے ۔

انھی خیالات یا فرائض کے پیشِ نظر ، جناب ملک محمد اشرف صاحب نے بسعئی بلیغ و مشکور ، علامہ کی مشہور و معروف نظم ''ابلیس کی مجلس شوریٰ'' کا معیاری انگریزی میں ترجمہ کیا ہے اور اہم مواقع پر تحشی بھی کر دی ہے ۔ مجھے یہاں علامہ کی شاعری کے محاسن یا متذکرہ نظم کی بلاغت و افادیت کے متعلق استقصاً کرنا نہیں ہے ، کیونکہ ان تمام امور کو ملک صاحب موصوف نے ترجمہ کے مقدمہ میں بوجہ احسن انجام دے دیا ہے اور علامہ کی شاعری کے فلسفہ کی من حیث المجموع اور نظم مترجمہ کی بطور خاص توضیح فرما دی ہے ۔ ترجمہ باوصف صحت ، نظم کے شاعرانہ محاسن ، اور شاعر کی قوت بیان کے مطابق ہے ۔ گویا مترجم موصوف نے اپنے کمال عقیدت اور جوش تاثر سے نظم کی روح کے کامل عرفان سے متکیف ہوکر اس کی صحیح معرفت کو ترجمہ میں

منتقل کیا ہے ، جو ایسی نادرہ کاری ہے کہ ہر شخص کو میسر نہیں آسکتی ! بلکہ میرا یقین تو یہ ہے کہ علامہ کا روحانی تصرف غیر محسوس طور پر مترجم موصوف کے شریکِ کار رہا ہے ۔ اس ترجمہ سے وہ لوگ جو اردو زبان سے ناواقف ہیں پوری طور پر لذت اندوز اور مستفید ہوں گے ، اور مجھے امید ہے کہ ملک کے دوسرے علم آشنا نوجوان بھی اسی طرح علامہ کے کلام کو دیگر زبانوں میں منتقل کرکے دیگر اقوام و ممالک کو دعوت ذوق و ارتقأ دیں گے !

سہا مجددی

TRANSLATION OF THE ITALIAN REVIEW

I have read with deep interest Malik Muhammad Ashraf's work THUS COFERRED SATAN. I regret very much not to have known it before the publication of my Essey on Iqbal's Satan, which appeared in the XXXth Volume (year 1955) of the Orientalistic Italian Journal "Rivista degli Studi Orientali" (Journal of Oriental Studies) with the title: **A. Bausani.** *Satana nell 'opera filosofico-poetica di Muhammad Iqbāl, i.e.,* Satan in the Poetical and Philosophical Work of Muhammad Iqbāl, Mr. Ashraf's clear English translation would have been very useful to me, in order to make my Italian translation of the not too easy Urdu poem better than it is.

Qf course, what is more interesting in Mr. Ashraf's book for a European reader is its Introduction. It shows how the universalistic spirit of the great Master Iqbāl gave its fruits also in his disciple, if I am allowed to call the Author this way. He studies, in his Introduction, the sources, both Eastern and Western, of Iqbāl's thought, giving thus a further proof of the fact that Iqbāl's Pan-Islāmism – in its sincere appreciation of what is noble and good also in the European spirit—breaks the narrow limit of a purely and exclusively "confessional" vision, passing into a real humanistic cosmopolitism, as Mr. Ashraf very intelligently remarks.

I think that we all, both Muslims and Europeans, must be grateful to Mr. Ashraf for his noble and difficult enterprise.

Nous devons remercier Monsieur Malik Muhammad Ashraf pour son commentaire (et traduction en anglais) des dernieres

pensees d'Iqbāl sur le "Problems of Evil." Mansūr Ḥallāj l'avait traite dans ses *Tawāsīn* (edite par moi a Paris en 1913) ; et Iqbāl vint a moi a Paris en 1936, pour discuter cette perspective 'promethean'd' Iblīs, deja exposee dans le *Jāwid Nāme.* Ici, a la fin de sa vie, Iqbāl set refer a une condamnation tout a fait orthodoxe de tout orgueil 'promethean', comme le *dit Mr. M.M. Ashraf.*

Louis Massignon.

TRANSLATION

We must thank Mr. Malik Muhammad Ashraf for his Commentary (and Translation in English) of Iqbāl's last thoughts on the "Problem of Evil." Mansur Ḥallāj had treated it, in *Tawāsīn* (edited by me in Paris, 1913); and Iqbāl came to me in Paris, in 1936, to discuss this "promethean" view of *Iblīs,* already exposed in the *Jāwid Nāme.* Here, at the end of his life, Iqbāl refers to fully orthodox condemnation of every "promethean" pride, as Mr. M. M. Ashraf sets it.

Louis Massignon.

I had the pleasure of reading Mr. Muḥammad Ashraf's book "The Devil's Conference," a Translation of Dr. Iqbāl's Urdu poem *Iblīs kī Majlis-i-Shū'rā.* The book now appears in a revised form, and under the new title of *Thus Conferred Satan*.

I have had the privilege of going through the second Edition in manuscript. It shows that Mr. Ashraf has not been idle in the interval. He has collected a good deal of valuable material about the illustrious Poet of the East. Incidentally, he has also added precious and enlightening information about other things and persons referred to by Iqbāl. Iqbāl's poem

is full of allusions, and Mr. Ashraf has spared no pain to elucidate them.

Thus Conferred Satan is not simply a Translation of Iqbāl's poem. It is much more : it is really a book on Iqbāl and his mind and his message. It also brings to the reader knowledge of many things In the fields of Religion, History, and Philosophy. Mr. Muḥammad Ashraf is to be congratulated for his study and research and presentation.

Muḥammad Sa'eed Khān.

PRESS OPINION

This is an English Translation of an instructive and immortal Urdu poem of Iqbāl, *Iblīs ki Majlis i Shu'rā*, included in the poet's posthumous work *Armughān i Hejāz*. In a Foreword, Dr. Muḥammad Razī-ud-Dīn Siddıqī has briefly dealt with the various aspects of Satan's personality and the influence of this old theme on world literature.

The author's Introduction, which deals with the main elements of Iqbāl's philosophy, his affinity with the great thinkers of the East and West, his debt to Nietzsche. Bergson and Rumī and his endeavours in the direction of exhorting the nation to bring about the Islāmic Renaissance, serves both as a justification of the book and as a useful exposition of Iqbāl's teachings.

Mr. Ashraf has attempted to render the poem into English quite literally without falling into the error, however, of making it a transliteration. The pains Mr. Ashraf has taken and his lucid and racy manner of dealing with various philosophic trends and personalities and his explanations of the difficult passages of the original add considerably to the book's utility. As the late Sir 'Abdul Qādir has said in his Introduction, the author has studied the writings of Iqbāl and "has absorbed a good deal of his thought."

(From the Review in *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, in its issue dated March 8, 1952).

By the same Author :

TOWARDS A REORIENTATION OF MYSTIC THOUGHT

The Author's approach to the subject is both critical and constructive. The aim of this treatise is to put Ṣūfism in its right place, restoring it to its real perspective which is one of subservience to the Islāmic *Sharī'ah* in which the so-called Mystic Path, the *Tarīqat*, is reduced to a view thus obtained of the *Sharī'at* from Life's deeper depths.

A GLANCE AT ROMAN HISTORY

Having History as a vital source of human knowledge, the Author in this book traces the expansion of Rome through its successive stages—the City State, the Republic, and the Empire. The fascinating study brings forth the realistic vision, and inculcates an entirely creative conception of History. History is interpreted in terms of the instructive value; its utility and significance are noticed in its being an eye-opener to a people, with its glad tidings and stern warnings in the rise and fall of nations. The events, in the historical process, are prompted by the corresponding immutable Facts' which are mysteriously governed by the inexorable Laws of Nature. This brief survey depicts the Romans' interrupted encounters with many a rising hostile Power, the former ultimately losing sight of Life's hard and stark realities and hastening the inescapable doom.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in 1915, of a middle class family at a small town in the undivided Punjab, Malik Muhammad Ashraf Khan, the Author, joined his parents in Central India as an infant of one year. There he lived long but returned to the native place, a young man, on the eve of India's Partition, in 1947. His college education suffered a sudden jolt and a setback at the hands of peculiar family circumstances. Then, he had a chequered career. For gratifying his ardent and insatiable literary passion, he turned to Journalism. He was later obliged to have recourse for his support to the profession of a school teacher. However, he soon discovered that his lofty flights in the realm of literature did not allow him to reconcile himself with his circumstances.

Having cultivated an irresistible natural aptitude for creative writing, Muḥammad Ashraf, with his deep study and developed original thinking, produced a valuable research work on the great Poet-Philosopher, the late 'Aleāma Muḥammad Iqbāl. It was published by him under the title *The Devil's Conference*, late in 1951. Then appeared, late in 1960, from the Author's pen a thought-provoking treatise on Ṣufism, entitled *Towards A Reorientation Of Mystic Thought*, as his second Publication. Thereafter, he directed his studies to the field of History, with particular notice of the eventful times of the Romans This eventually found a tangible shape in the delightful study called *A Glance At Roman History* (1963).

Mr. Ashraf's present contribution, *Thus Conferred Satan*, makes a thoroughly Revised and fairly Enlarged Edition of his

original work on Dr. Iqbāl. A marked improvement on the original Edition, the work in the present form and under the new title, now appearing at long last, late in 1973, constitutes an invaluable research work on Iqbāl, and must be discovered as of immense value and benefit not only to the Poet's appreciative admirers and his keen students but also to the interested research scholars both in the East and the West. Mr. Ashraf has lately brought out (early in 1972) an eminently valuable thoughtful work, in Urdū, called *Rāh-e-Gum Kardah kā Nishān* (Towards The Lost Pathway), avowedly aiming at a resurrection of the contemporary world Muslim Community through Divine Guidance provided by pristine Islām. A fairly improved Revised Edition of this highly important work will be coming out shortly. The Author is a constructive writer and a creative thinker, distinguished for his deep humanism.

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GENERAL INDEX

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